

# DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN PERU

Final Report

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*This report analyzes the results of a national survey performed by Imasen S.A., under the direction of the IEP research team, in November 1999, with a representative national sample of 1,751 people. It also includes a comparison of these results with those of three similar surveys done in 1996, 1997 and 1998 at the request of USAID/Peru.*

*The opinions expressed in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of USAID/Peru.*

*Lima, June 2000*



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In general, we have encountered no substantial differences between the results of the 1998 and 1999 surveys. In 1998, we found significant interest in public affairs and politics, noteworthy levels of participation in civil society organizations and community activities, very low levels of trust in institutions and the political system in general, and a majority but diffuse preference for democratic values. We also observed that people who were excluded in various ways (women, residents of rural areas, those in lower socio-economic sectors, and above all young people and those with less education) showed slightly higher than average levels of trust in institutions and support for the political system. We said that this relatively greater trust did not indicate that political institutions functioned well, but resulted from a lesser degree of critical analysis.

The results of the November 1999 survey, however, show a slight increase in confidence in political institutions, as well as greater interest in public affairs and politics. The pre-electoral context and a recovery in the government's popularity have undoubtedly been factors in these changes. At the time of the November 1998 survey, on the other hand, the context was marked by a drop in the government's approval rating and advances by opposition forces in the wake of the municipal elections held in October of that year.

One problem we find is that recovery of trust in the political system and its institutions does not imply greater identification with democratic values, and is influenced by greater acceptance of a regime that is far from functioning democratically, at least in the republican dimension of democracy (although its plebiscitary aspects do function). We thus find that those who are most tolerant of dictatorial behavior by presidents: first, tend to give President Fujimori's performance a higher rating; second,



have a higher opinion of the functioning of political institutions; and third, are more likely to believe that citizens' rights are upheld in Peru.

Overall, however, while levels of trust in the system and its institutions have increased slightly, they still remain fairly low. Education and age again appear to be significant variables in explaining some slight differences among respondents. Unlike the 1998 survey, however, in which it seemed that excluded groups were more inclined to support the system, that tendency is no longer as clear. One explanation is that the recovery in the government's approval rating during the past year cuts across all social sectors, and is based more on political variables than on social characteristics.

We found that the majority of those surveyed declared a preference for democracy as a form of government and did not justify coup d'etats or authoritarian behavior by presidents. Sixty percent of those surveyed indicated that a democratic government is always preferable. It is worth noting that there was a slight decrease in the preference for democracy between 1998 and 1999, and a notable increase in the number who did not respond (from 3.3 in 1998 to 16 percent in 1999). On the other hand, more than half of those surveyed said a coup d'etat and authoritarian behavior by a president could never be justified. This majority support for democracy is not as solid as it seems, however, because about 40 percent showed a certain level of tolerance for authoritarian values.

These results appear to be relatively homogeneous in the various groups of respondents. The most significant differences appear according to education and age; the higher the educational level and age, the greater the preference for democracy. Among respondents with a primary education or less, 41.7 percent said they preferred democracy as a political regime; 57.1 respondents aged 18 to 24 gave that response. Unlike the survey carried out in November of last year, we did not see clearly that the preference for democracy changed according to other socio-demographic variables.

Democracy appears to be a polysemic concept, in which what we could call liberal concepts (which emphasize the importance of individual rights) coexist in all social groups with participatory and plebiscitary ideas (which emphasize the masses' identification with leaders), republican concepts (which emphasize respect for the State of Law) and egalitarian ideas. Among low socio-economic sectors, there is a slightly greater sensitivity to egalitarian and participatory elements, while in higher sectors there is a slight leaning toward republican components.



## INTRODUCTION

For four consecutive years, from 1996 to 1999, the Office of Democratic Initiatives of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID/Peru) sponsored a national survey that gathered Peruvians' opinions about citizen participation, democracy and the political system and its institutions.

This report presents the analysis of the results of the national survey directed by the research team of the Peruvian Studies Institute (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP)<sup>1</sup>, taken during November 1999 with a representative national sample of 1,751 people<sup>2</sup>. The 1998 and 1999 surveys included questions similar to, and in many cases exactly the same as, those of the 1996 and 1997 questionnaires. Other subjects of interest were also included, however, such as: notions of democracy, tolerance for authoritarian values, interest in public affairs and interest in politics. Because they were only studied in the last two years, these issues cannot be compared over all the years. This report therefore relies more heavily on analysis of the 1998 survey, while taking into consideration the results of the 1996 and 1997 surveys.

The main objective of this report is to describe and analyze the indicators designed to measure each subject of the study. Along with the description of the data, we have analyzed the relationship between them

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<sup>1</sup> The research team consists of Julio Carrión, Martín Tanaka and Patricia Zárate.

<sup>2</sup> The first two surveys, taken in 1996 and 1997, were carried out by Apoyo Opinión and Mercado S.A. under the direction of the Instituto Apoyo. The 1998 and 1999 surveys were taken by IMASEN S.A., under the direction of the research team of the Peruvian Studies Institute (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP). The 1996 and 1997 samples consisted of 1,508 and 1,533 cases, respectively. The 1998 and 1999 samples included 1,784 and 1,751 cases.

and their behavior in various control groups that we define as relevant<sup>3</sup>; we also have used both statistical analysis and regression analysis techniques.

To provide a better understanding of the Peruvian case, we have tried to take a comparative approach, using as a reference the results of *Latinobarómetro*<sup>4</sup>.

This report consists of the following chapters:

- Chapter 1. Interest in public affairs and politics. In this section, we discuss the level of interest in public affairs, and the communications media most often used by citizens. We also examine citizens' attitudes toward politics in general.
- Chapter 2. Participation in civil society organizations and community-based activism. In this part, we address forms of citizen participation in different civil society organizations and involvement in community based activism. We also analyze the importance people place on this participation and activism.
- Chapter 3. Legitimacy of the political system and its institutions, and attitudes toward democracy and authoritarianism. In this section, we discuss citizens' perceptions of the legitimacy of the political system, examining both support for the political system in general and confidence in key political institutions. We also analyze citizens' perceptions of democracy, and the extent and intensity of support for this system. We also examine the existing level of support for both civilian and military authoritarianism.

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<sup>3</sup> We have taken into account a series of socio-demographic variables, such as sex, age, native language, education, area of residence and socio-economic condition, in order to establish differences within the surveyed population and define control groups.

<sup>4</sup> *Latinobarómetro* is an international survey taken in 17 Latin American countries, whose objective is to provide the various sectors that participate in decision-making in the region with information about issues of public interest. Although we have not had direct access to the *Latinobarómetro* database, we have used reports on the principal results from 1998, which were published by the Promotion Commission of Peru (Comisión de Promoción del Perú, PROMPERU).



- Chapter 4. Citizenship and local governments. In this chapter, we analyze citizens' confidence in and perceptions of the efficiency of local governments.
- Chapter 5. Basic rights and civic responsibilities. In this section, we first examine the level of knowledge of rights and responsibilities, not only in the overall population, but also in what has been defined as the disadvantaged sector. We then analyze whether citizens know where to turn to protect their rights.
- Chapter 6. Access to justice and public safety. In this part, we assess the level of public safety in Peru, access to and use of the judicial system, and perceptions of the guarantee of a fair trial for all.
- Chapter 7. Conclusions and recommendations.
- Appendix. Peru: General Elections 2000. In this appendix, we offer some ideas regarding the electoral process that has taken place in Peru in recent months, and which has not yet concluded<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> General elections in Peru are held every five years, in the month of April. If a single candidate does not win more than 50 percent of the valid votes, the National Electoral Court (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones) convokes a runoff between the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes. This year's runoff has been scheduled for May 28, 2000.

## 1. INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLITICS, AND LEVEL OF GENERAL INFORMATION

The population shows significant levels of interest in public affairs and politics, relatively equivalent to the average level in Latin America, according to Latinbarómetro data from 1998. Between 1998 and 1999, a slight increase was registered, undoubtedly related to the pre-electoral context in which the survey was taken.

Table 1.1  
Interest in public affairs and politics<sup>1</sup> (1998 - 1999)

Interest in public affairs and politics	1998	1999
Level of interest in politics	52.2	54.2
Level of interest in public affairs	83.1	84.7

### 1.1. INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

First, we will address interest in public affairs. Of the respondents, 56.6 percent said they frequently seek information about current events in the country; 32.9 percent said they seek information only occasionally. The percentage of those who said they frequently seek information increased in 1999.

Table 1.2  
Interest in public affairs (1998 - 1999)

How frequently do you seek information about national current events?	1998	1999
Never seek information	1.5	1.8
Almost never seek information	4.0	3.7
Seek information only when interested in a particular issue	6.7	5.0
Seek information occasionally	35.9	32.9
Seek information frequently	51.8	56.6
Total	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> The scales for this table and those that follow have been designed using a range of 0 to 100. The values shown are averages on the scale.



As we have mentioned, in 1999 the level of interest in public affairs<sup>2</sup> showed a slight increase in comparison to 1998 (from 83.12 to 84.69, on a scale of 0 to 100). Interest in public affairs changes according to certain variables: sex, region, level of education and socio-economic level, as well as level of interest in politics and level of information. Relatively less interest is shown by women, residents of rural areas, people of lower educational and socio-economic levels, and those who have less interest in politics<sup>3</sup> and lower levels of information<sup>4</sup>.

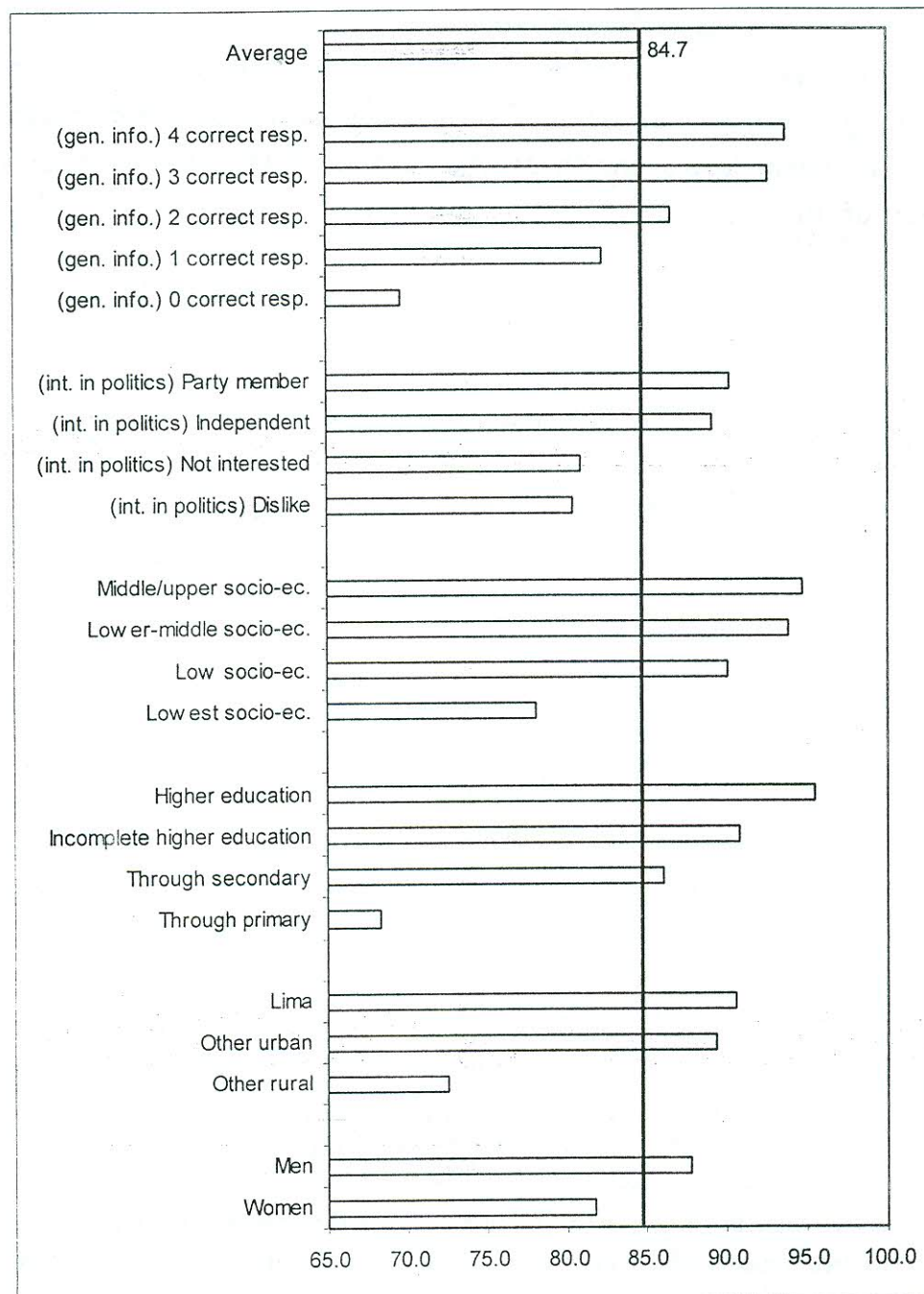
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<sup>2</sup> On this scale, the highest point value goes to those who said they "frequently" seek information about current events in the country, and the lowest to those who say they never seek information.

<sup>3</sup> We designed an index of interest in politics, on which the highest point value goes to those who said they are interested in politics and align themselves with a political party, and the lowest to those who said they "detest" politics.

<sup>4</sup> We designed an index for general information, composed of four questions: who are the presidents of Argentina, the United States and Ecuador, and how many Congress members does Peru have. Results range from no correct answers to four correct answers.

**Figure 1.1**  
**Level of interest in public affairs**  
**according to socio-demographic and political variables (1999)**



Range of scale: 0 to 100

When people are interested in public affairs, how do they inform themselves about current events in the country? In the survey, 59.9 percent said they get their information from television and 33.4 percent from the radio. Other forms of access to information are far behind.



Table 1.3  
Medium most frequently used to obtain information  
about national events (1998 - 1999)

From what medium do you most frequently get information about events in the country?	1998	1999
Television	62.5	59.9
Radio	31.6	33.4
Newspapers	3.9	4.7
Friends or relatives	1.7	1.6
Work colleagues	.3	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0

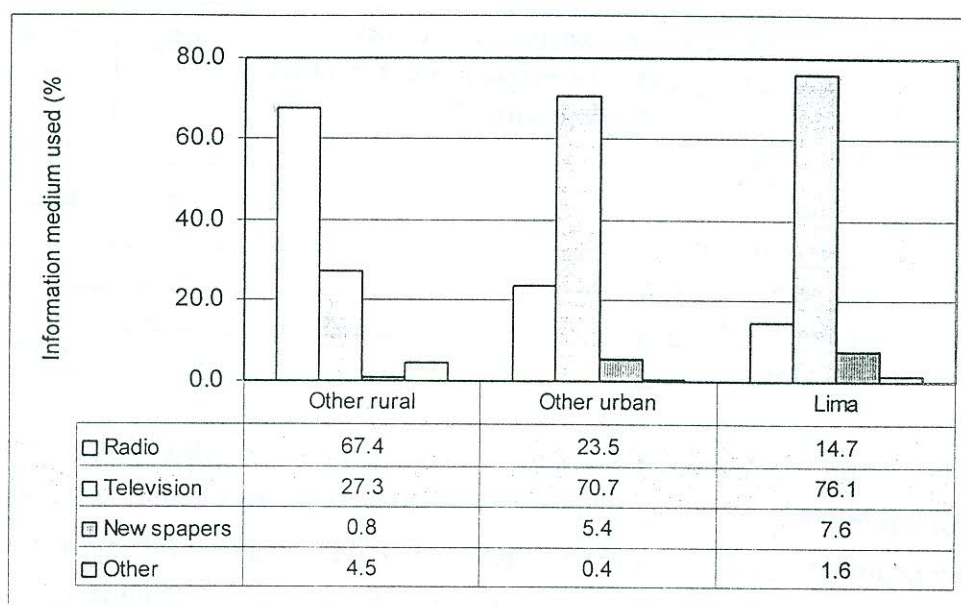
The following table shows responses to the following question: "Speaking only of news, how often do you listen to a radio or television news program or read news in the newspaper?" We found that most people obtain their news from television, a situation that has not changed from 1998 to 1999.

Table 1.4  
Frequency with which news is obtained from various media (1998-1999)

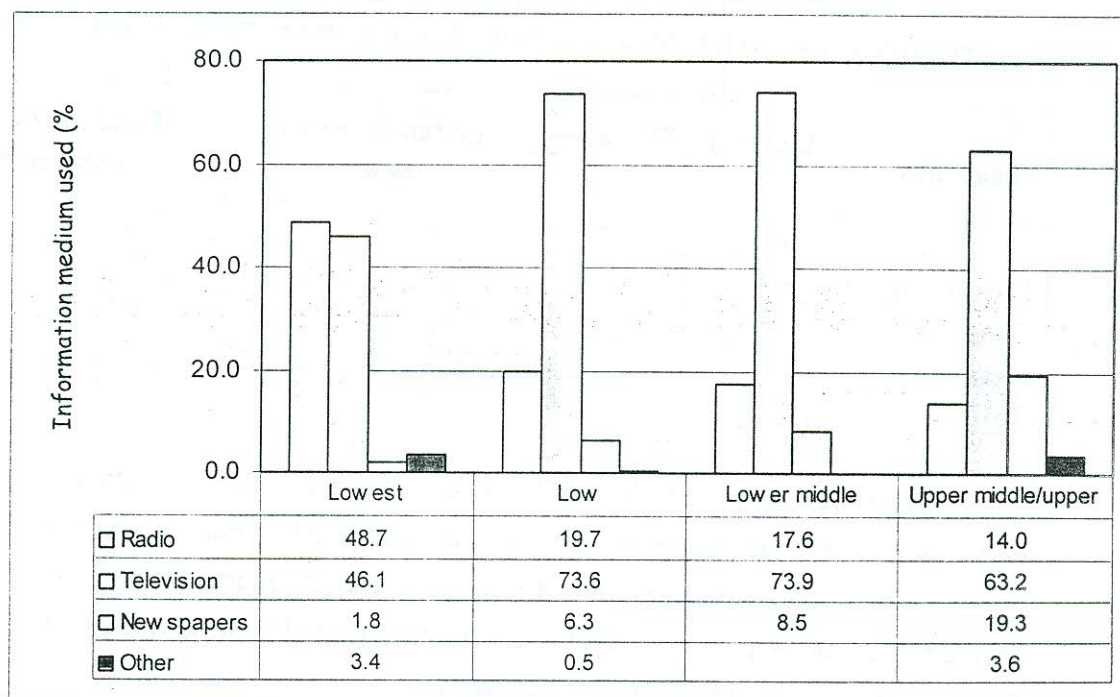
Frequency	Listen to TV news		Listen to radio news		Read news in newspaper	
	1998	1999	1998	1999	1998	1999
Frequently	64.2	62.7	35.4	39.0	20.6	22.0
Sometimes	31.9	32.3	53.9	51.1	60.7	61.2
Never	4.0	5.0	10.7	9.9	18.7	16.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Breaking this data down by area of residence and socio-economic level, we find that radio is used more frequently than television in rural zones and among lower-income sectors. Even so, more than half of rural households (50.4 percent) and 68.6 percent of households of the lowest socio-economic level have television sets.

**Figure 1.2**  
Principal medium used for obtaining information about national events,  
according to area of residence (1999)



**Figure 1.3**  
Principal medium used to obtain information about national events,  
according to socio-economic level (1999)



On the one hand, we find that there may be a problem with regard to a certain lack of interest in public affairs and politics. On the other hand, we also see a problem of supply, given the great weight of television as a



source of information, a situation that has become more obvious recently. In other words, there may be interest in obtaining information, but there may not be sources of information.

This brings us to the question of how well-informed people are in general. To analyze this point, we asked four questions based on general information. Most of those surveyed were able to give the name of the president of the United States, but only slightly more than 20 percent knew how many legislators are in Peru's Congress.

Table 1.5  
General Information (1999)

Questions based on general information	Correct response (Percentages)
Who is the president of the United States?	64.4
Who is the president of Argentina?	51.2
How many members are in Peru's Congress	21.3
Who is president of Ecuador?	58.4

On the basis of these four questions, we designed a scale of general information, ranging from zero to four correct responses. Of those surveyed, 23.6 percent were unable to answer any question correctly; only 14.7 percent answered all four correctly.

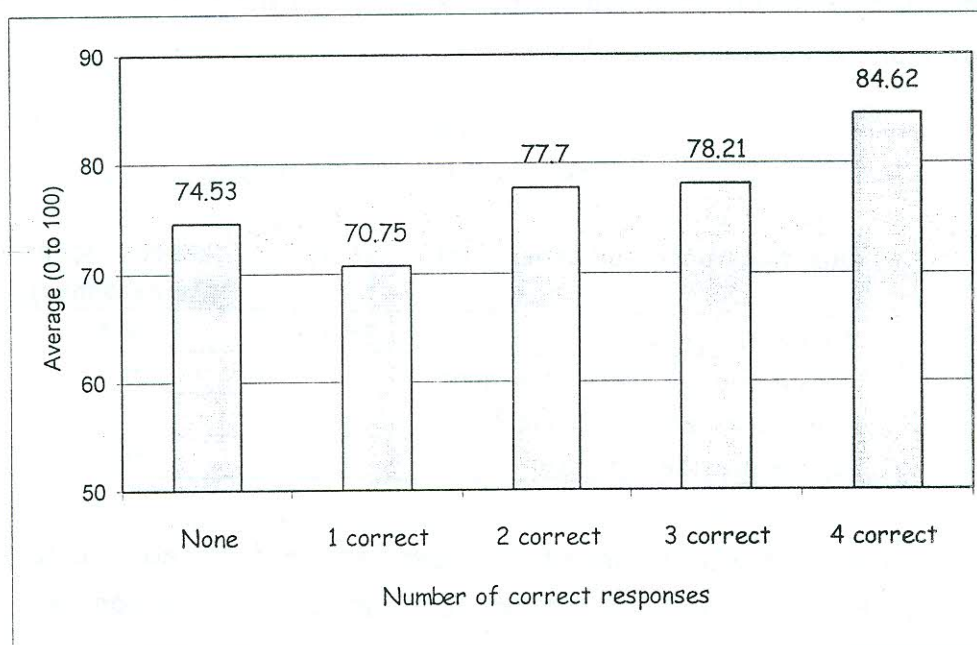
Table 1.6  
Scale of general information (1999)

Number of correct responses	Percentage
None	23.6
1 correct	14.7
2 correct	19.3
3 correct	27.7
4 correct	14.7

It should be pointed out that nearly half of those surveyed in rural areas (49.9 percent) and 65 percent of those with primary education or less could not answer any of the questions correctly; nor could 30.1 percent of women, compared to 16.8 percent of men.

The low levels of information registered are cause for concern from the point of view of the extension of democratic values, because the study shows that those who have greater levels of information also are more likely to prefer democracy as a political regime.

Figure 1.4  
Preference for democracy as a form of government,  
according to level of general information (1999)



## 1.2. INTEREST IN POLITICS

In the survey, we took a specific look at interest in politics. Of those surveyed, 41.5 percent said they were not interested in or disliked politics, while 47.2 percent said they were interested in politics and considered themselves independent, and 11.2 percent said they were interested in politics and belonged to a political party. Considering the scale of interest in politics, and comparing with the 1998 survey results, we find a slight increase in 1999. It must be remembered that the survey was taken in November 1999, just weeks before presidential candidates announced their candidacy, and around the time that political movements planning to present slates of congressional candidates were registering with election authorities (the increase is from 52.2 to 54.17 on a scale of 0 to 100).

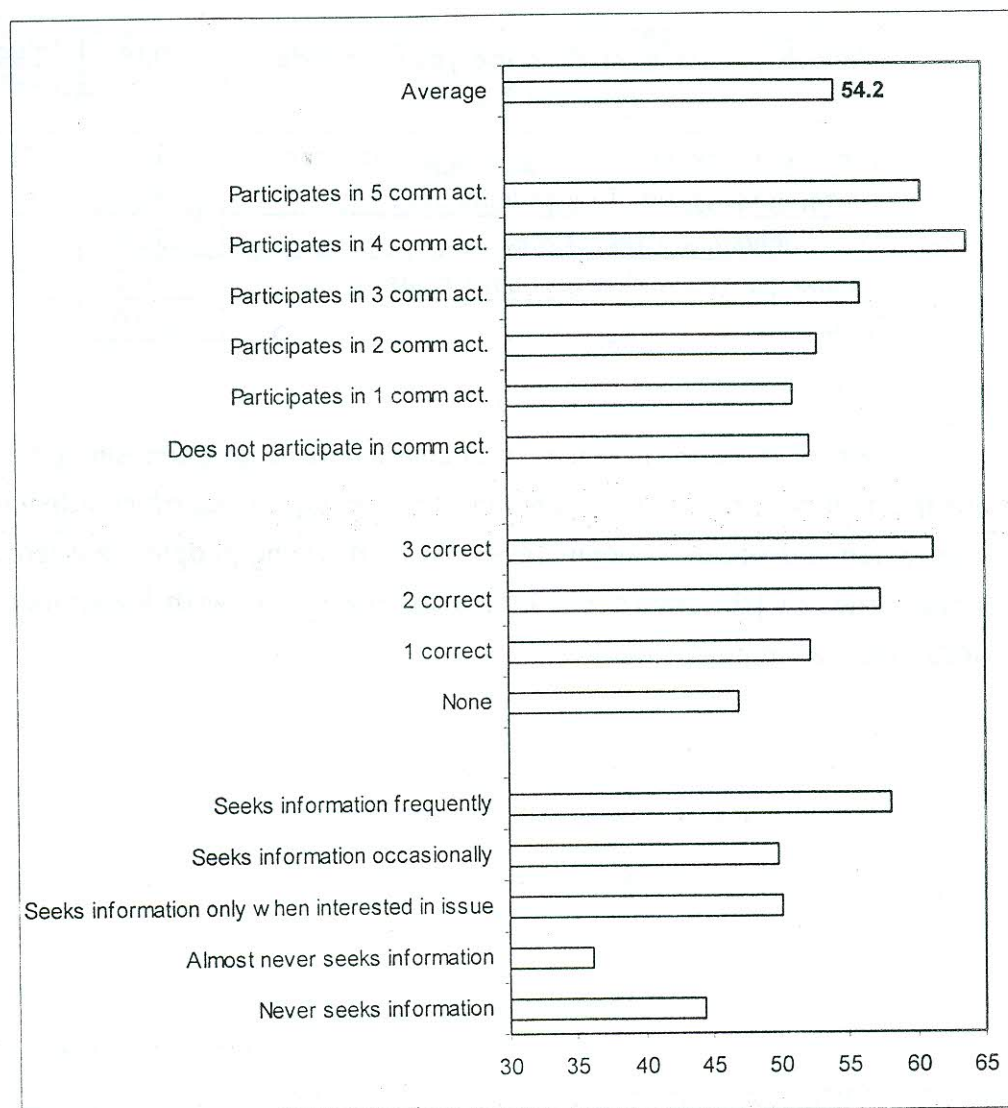


Table 1.7  
Interest in politics (1998 - 1999)

Which phrase best describe your attitude toward politics?	1998	1999
It interests me, and I belong to a political party	12.1	11.2
It interests me, but I am independent	41.3	47.2
Politics does not interest me	37.6	34.4
I dislike politics and detest politicians	9.0	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Interest in politics varies according to a pattern similar to that of interest in public affairs, according to sex, age, area of residence, level of education and socio-economic level. Women, young people, residents of rural areas, those with less formal education and those with lower incomes show less interest in politics.

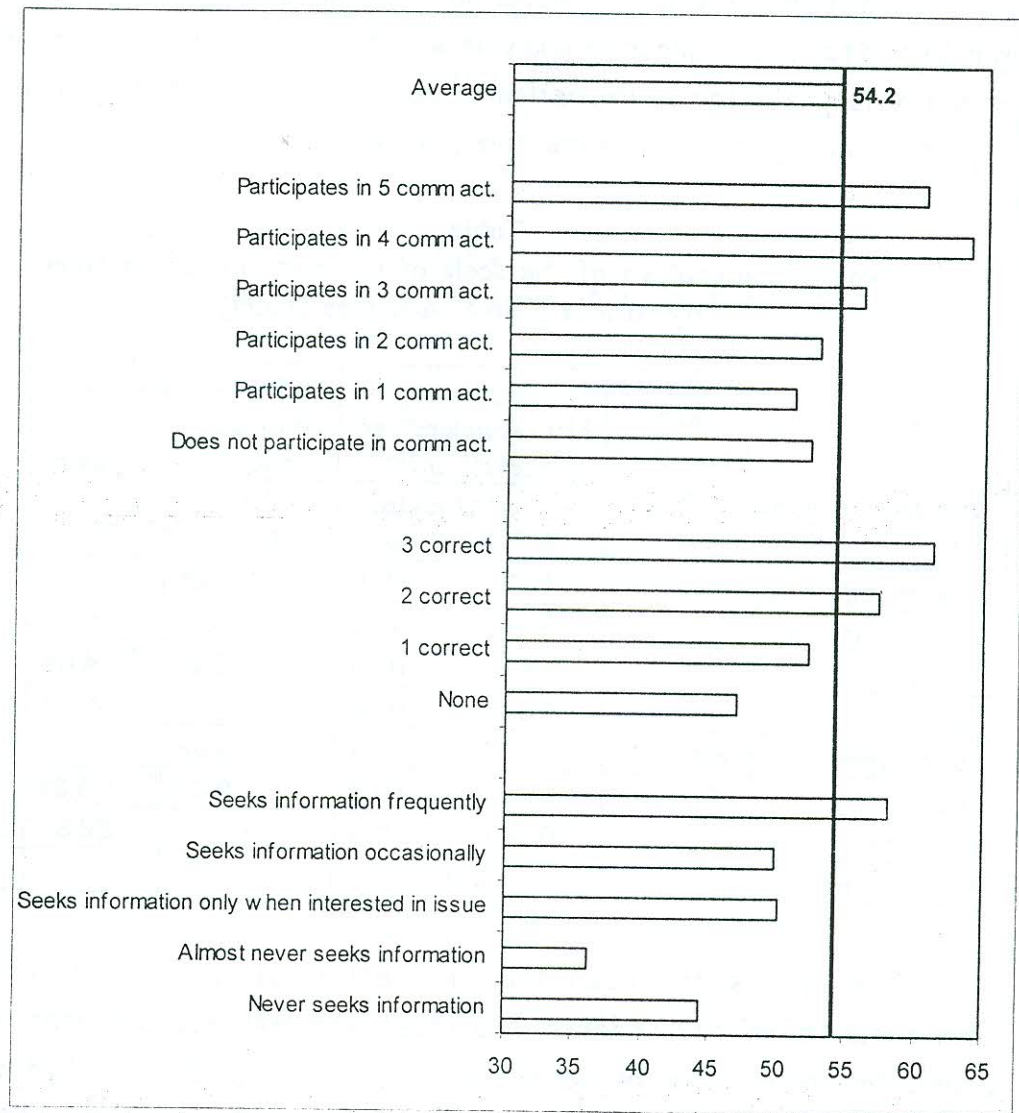
Figure 1.5a  
Scale of interest in politics, according to socio-demographic variables (1999)



Interest in politics also varies according to level of general information and interest in public affairs: those who have greater levels of information and are more interested in public affairs also are more interested in politics. It also varies according to community-based activism (those who are more involved in community activities are more interested in politics).



Figure 1.5b  
Scale of interest in politics, according to socio-political variables (1999)



### *Determining factors for interest in public affairs and politics*

To determine which variables have the greatest influence on interest in public affairs, a regression analysis was done (Table 1.8). To see whether or not this predictor is statistically significant, look at the Significance column to the right of the respective *t* value.

Table 1.8  
Regression analysis of the scale of interest in public affairs,  
by various control variables (1999)<sup>5</sup>

Predictor variables	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coeff.	t value	Significance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Level of education	1.43	0.15	0.28	9.64	0.00
Native language	8.11	1.38	0.13	5.87	0.00
Region	3.54	0.76	0.12	4.66	0.00
Sex	4.82	0.95	0.11	5.07	0.00
Socio-economic condition	1.27	0.51	0.08	2.48	0.01
Age	0.12	0.04	0.07	3.21	0.00
Constant	50.06	2.19		22.87	0.00
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.234				

The regression shows that interest in public affairs is greatest among men, older respondents, and those who have more education, speak Spanish as their native language, live in urban areas and have a better socio-economic level. Unlike the 1998 survey, in the 1999 results native language is a variable that contributes to an explanation of interest in the news.

With regard to interest in politics, unlike the 1998 study, the factor most affecting level of interest in politics is the respondent's sex (there is greater interest among men), followed by area of residence, which in this

<sup>5</sup> To perform the regressions, we assigned the variable "sex" a value of "zero" for women and "one" for men. A positive value for the Beta coefficient for the variable "sex" indicates that men tend to be more interested than women in public affairs. For area of residence, we assigned a code of 0 for rural areas, 1 for urban areas, and 2 for Metropolitan Lima. Finally, with regard to the respondent's native language, we assigned a value of 0 for those whose native language was Quechua or Aymara, and 1 for those whose mother tongue was Spanish.



survey does explain interest, inversely to what we observe in the analysis of averages; that is, greater interest in politics was found outside Lima. Education also continues to be an important variable: the higher the level of education, the greater the interest in politics. The regression shows that native language and socio-economic condition alone do not explain changes in levels of interest in politics.

Table 1.9  
Regression analysis of the scale of interest in politics,  
by various control variables (1999)

Predictor variables	Non-standardized coefficients		Stan- dardized coeff.	t value	Signifi- cance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Sex	3.91	1.27	0.08	3.07	0.00
Area of residence	-1.48	1.01	-0.04	-1.46	0.14
Education	1.16	0.20	0.18	5.75	0.00
Age	0.17	0.05	0.08	3.28	0.00
Native language	2.71	1.90	0.04	1.43	0.15
Socio-economic condition	0.59	0.68	0.03	0.87	0.38
Constant	31.82	3.05		10.44	0.00
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.048				

How should we evaluate Peruvians' levels of interest in public affairs and politics, and the level of general information they have? Are they high or low? The answer to this question must necessarily come from a comparative perspective. If we look at the *Latinobarómetro* data from 1998, we see that Peru is near or above the Latin American average with regard to citizens' interest in politics, as well as their feelings about politics and the frequency with which they follow political news and talk about politics.

Figure 1.6  
Latin America<sup>6</sup> and Peru: How interested are you in politics?  
(*Latinobarómetro* 1998)

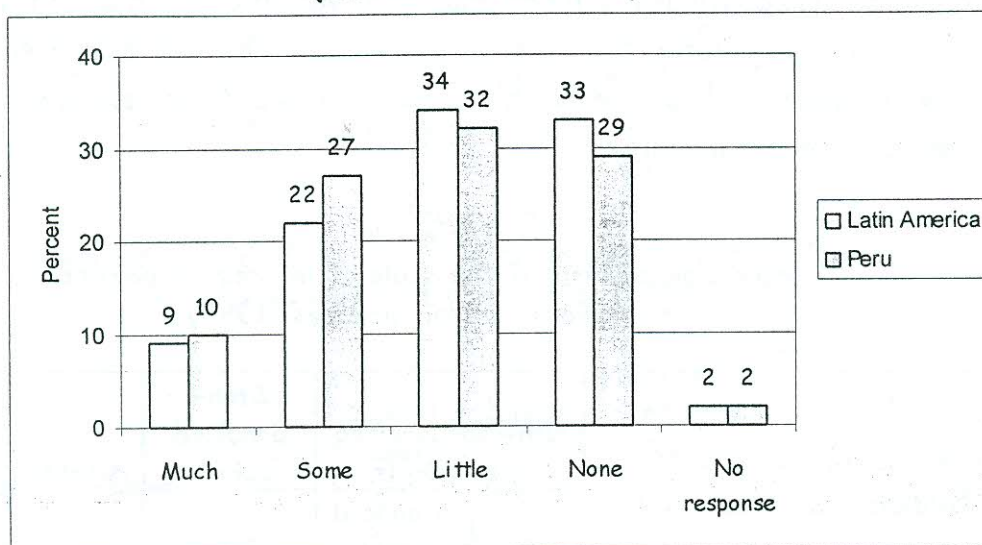
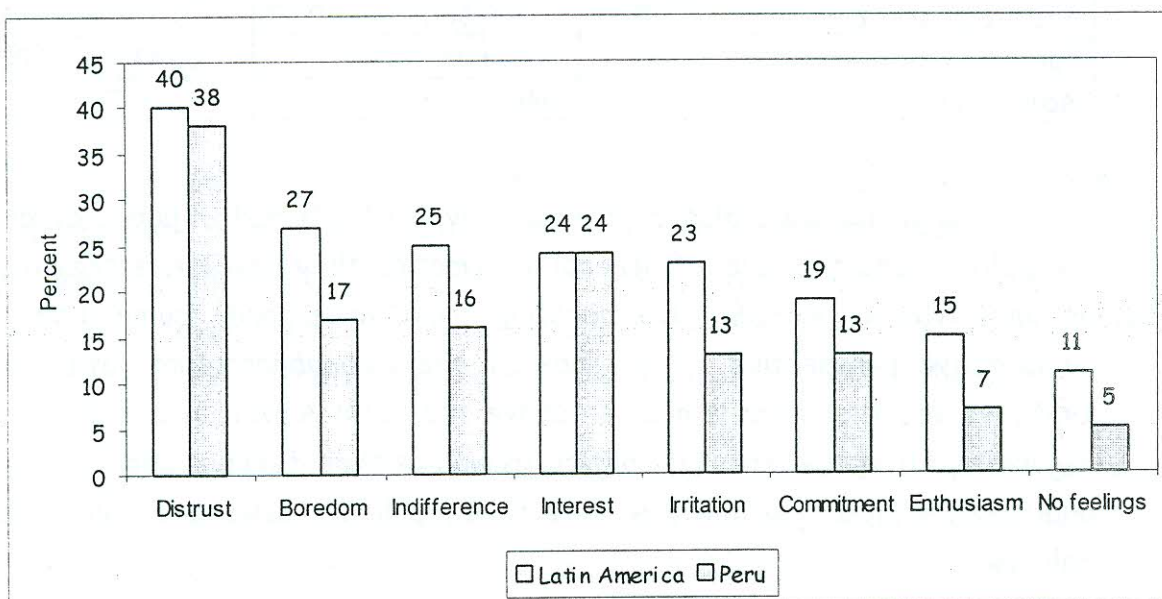


Figure 1.7  
Latin America and Peru: What feelings do you have about politics?  
(*Latinobarómetro* 1998)



<sup>6</sup> Countries included in the *Latinobarómetro* survey are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.



Figure 1.8  
Latin America and Peru: How often do you follow political news?  
(*Latinobarómetro* 1998)

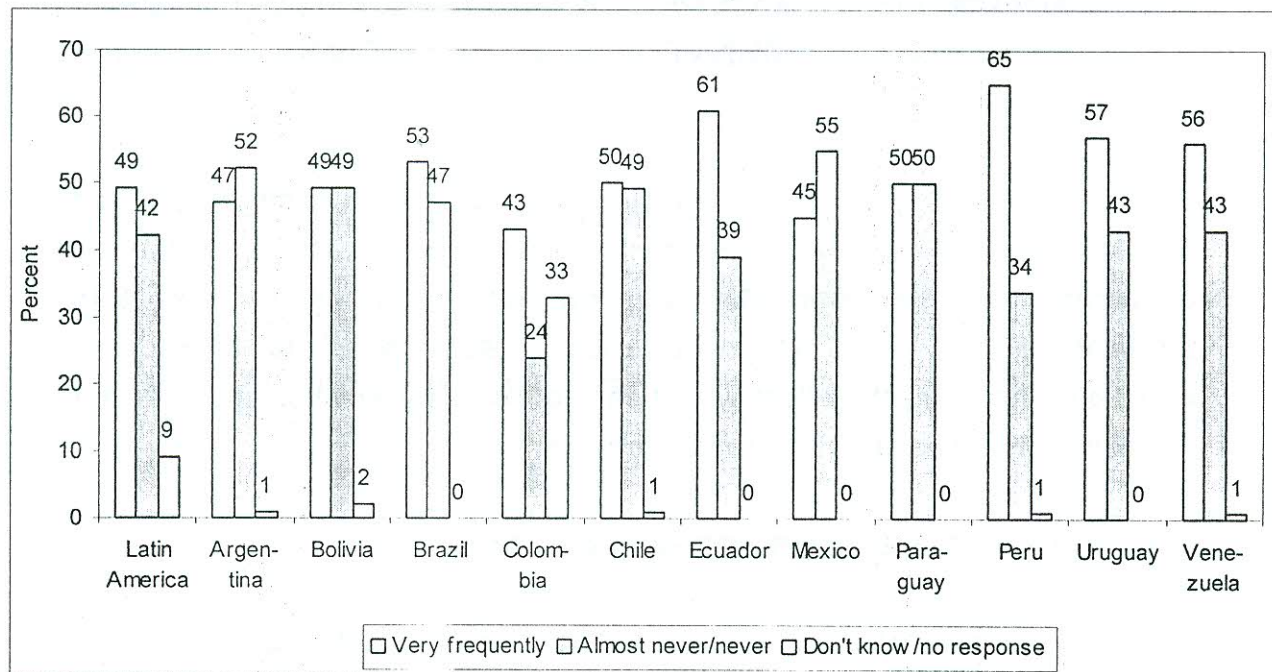
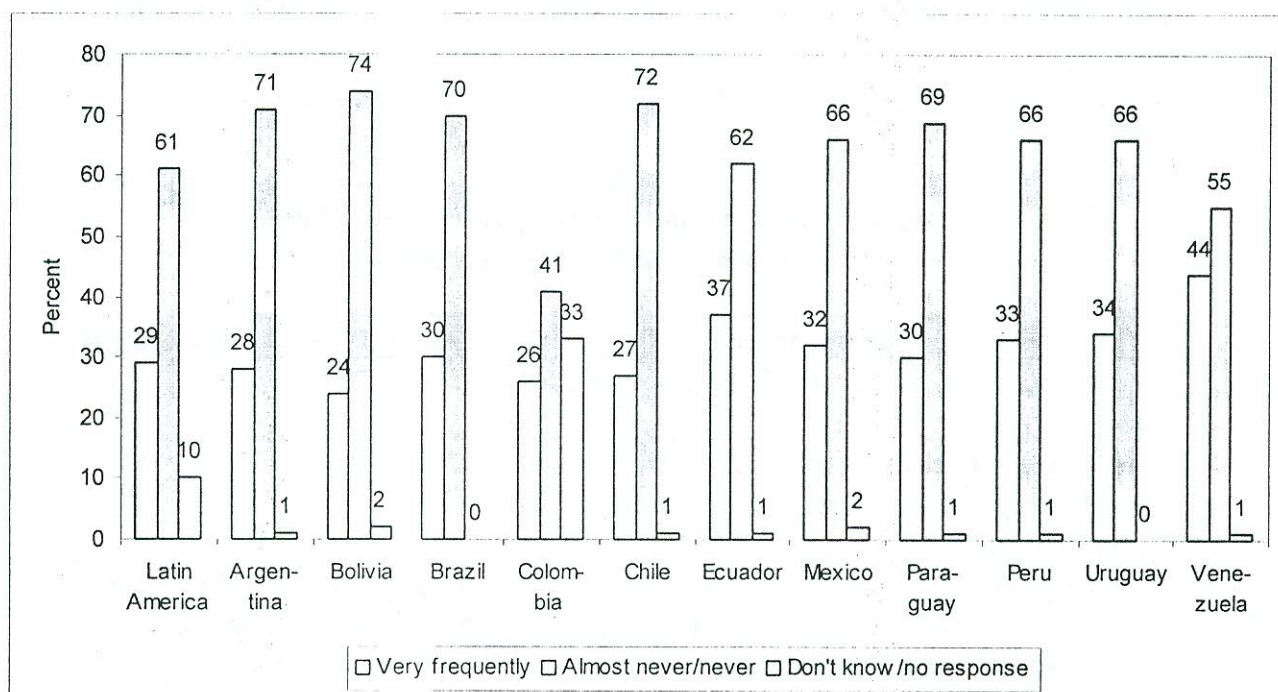


Figure 1.9  
Latin America and Peru: How often do you talk about politics with your friends?  
(*Latinobarómetro* 1998)



## 2. PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITY-BASED ACTIVISM

In the survey we found significant levels of both community-based activism and participation in civil society organizations, relatively comparable to the Latin American average, according to the 1998 *Latinobarómetro* poll. This participation is seen in all social sectors, especially the poorest. Collective action is a means by which people attempt to address their needs and resolve problems.

### 2.1. PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY-BASED ACTIVISM

By community-based activism, we mean involvement in activities that make a contribution to improving the community where the respondent resides. To study this issue, we included in the questionnaire the questions shown in Table 2.1. Although a majority of respondents are not involved in any given community activity, at least one-third, and in several cases a significantly higher percentage, said they are involved in each type of activity.

Table 2.1  
Frequency of community participation, 1996-1998  
(Percentage of affirmative responses)

Question	1996	1997	1998	1999
Have you tried to resolve a problem in your community?	36.0	35.0	30.8	33.8
Have you donated money or materials to resolve a problem or make an improvement in your community?	33.9	29.0	27.0	27.7
Have you provided your own labor?	45.9	46.4	39.1	43.9
Have you attended meetings to resolve a problem or make an improvement in your community?	50.7	47.6	45.5	44.5
Have you helped form a new group to resolve a local problem or seek an improvement in your community?	n.d	24.5	23.0	21.3



Creating a scale with the questions shown in the preceding table, we see that 33.9 percent of respondents have not participated in any kind of community activity. If we analyze levels of community-based activism, comparing them with the 1998 survey, we find no significant change.

Table 2.2  
Community-based activism (1998 - 1999)  
Percent

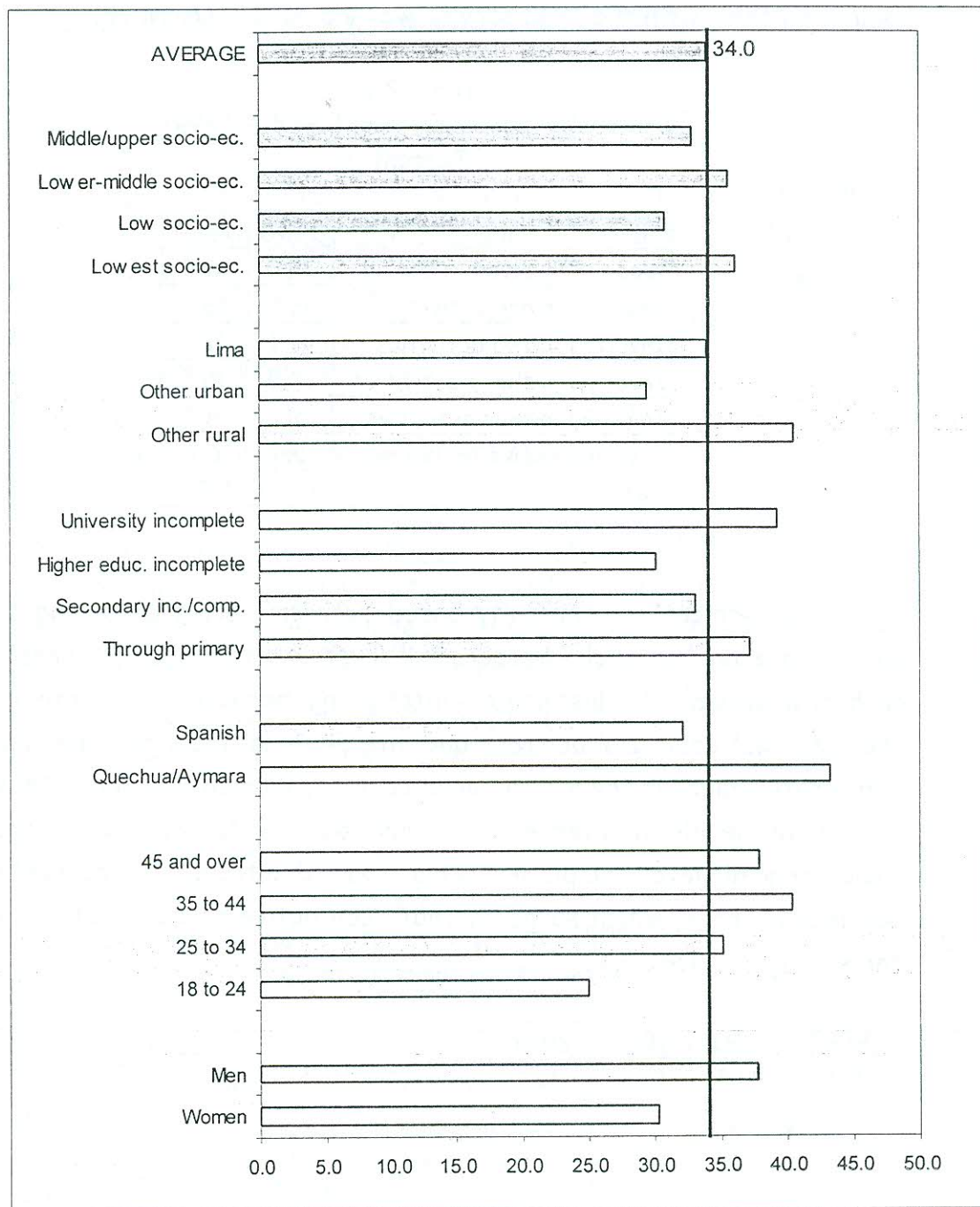
	1998	1999
Was not involved	34.0	33.9
Involved in one activity	18.5	16.4
Involved in two activities	17.1	18.1
Involved in three activities	14.5	15.5
Involved in four activities	10.4	9.2
Involved in five activities	5.4	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Involvement in community-based activism varies according to sex, age, socio-economic level, interpersonal trust, and tolerance for presidential authoritarianism<sup>1</sup>. This last point is interesting, because it calls into question the idea that communal behavior and interpersonal trust have an impact on democratic values in the macro-social context. Women, youth and those who show lower levels of interpersonal trust participate less. With regard to socio-economic level, the picture is more varied, although the poorest people participate more, which suggests that such activism is part of a strategy for solving problems.

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<sup>1</sup> We constructed a scale of tolerance for presidential authoritarianism based on three questions: 1) Would you agree with the president assuming dictatorial powers to solve the country's economic problems? 2) Would you agree with the president assuming dictatorial powers to better resolve the problems of violence in the country? and 3) Besides the situations I just mentioned, do you believe there are other situations in which the president would be justified in assuming dictatorial powers, or do you believe there is no reason that can justify assuming such powers?

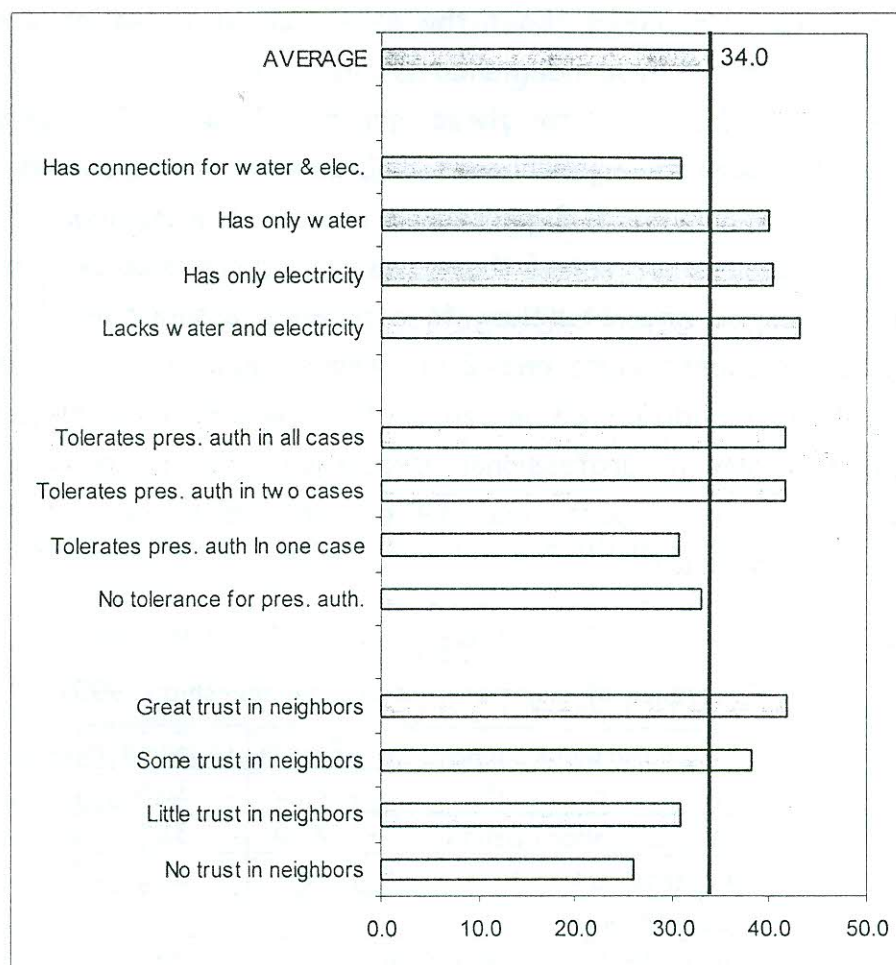
Figure 2.1  
Scale of community-based activism,  
according to socio-demographic and political variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100



Figure 2.2  
Scale of community-based activism,  
according to socio-political variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100

## 2.2. PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

The extent of Peru's organizational fabric is not to be taken lightly. In the survey, we asked about the existence of a set of civil society organizations in the respondents' communities. We also asked respondents whether they belonged to these groups (Table 2.3). Where these organizations exist in neighborhoods, 38.5 percent of respondents belong to a religious community; 31.2 percent of women are members of women's organizations; 26.5 percent of those over age 24 and 36.8 percent of those between ages 35 and 44 belong to a parents' association; 20.8 percent belong to a sports club; and 25.1 percent belong to a neighborhood organization. In addition, 23 percent of those who have completed a college education belong to professional associations. Finally, only 7.7 percent belong to a political party and 8.4 percent belong to a producers' or merchants' organization.

Table 2.3  
Existence of organizations and membership (1999)

Organizations	Exists	Is member
Religious community	84.0	38.5
Women's organization	77.0	31.2
Parents' association	75.3	26.5
Sports club	71.1	20.8
Neighborhood organization	58.5	25.1
Political party	56.5	7.7
Producers' association	46.1	8.4
Professional association	27.9	23

Only 26.5 percent of respondents do not participate in any organization. In addition, 52.5 percent of those surveyed said they would like to participate more in organizations; 61.4 percent said they do not because of a lack of time. The extent of participation is consistent with the fact that the neighborhood organization is the institution that inspires the second-greatest level of trust in Peru, surpassed only by the church.

It is important to recognize that organizations also have problems and limitations. Of the 52.5 percent of respondents who said they would like to participate more, 35 percent said they did not because of a series of critical considerations (Table 2.4), while 78.7 percent believed their



opinions were seldom or never taken into account in the organizations in which they participated (Table 2.5). This was even true among leaders of organizations; more than 50 percent said they believe their opinion is seldom or never taken into account in the organization they lead. This suggests a lack of democratic functioning in these organizations; neither the grassroots members nor the majority of those in leadership feel they have much influence in their organizations. This coincides with the fact that neither participation in civil society organizations nor community-based activism is associated with greater adherence to democratic values or greater levels of interest in public affairs. This merits careful evaluation of the consequences of participation in organizations and community-based activism.

**Table 2.4**  
Reasons for not participating in organizations (1998 - 1999)

Why don't you participate more in organizations?	1998	1999
Lack of time	58.1	61.4
There are no organizations that address the issues that interest me	16.8	16.8
I don't like the way organizations in my community function	8.4	8.0
They haven't given me the opportunity	-.-	6.2
I sometimes don't understand what they are discussing	8.4	4.0
I don't think I have the necessary education	4.9	1.9
Other reason	2.4	0.6
No response	1.1	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0

**Table 2.3**  
Influence in the organizations in which the respondent participates

To what extent do you believe your opinion is taken into account in the organizations in which you participate?	Members of organization	Leaders of organization
Much	21.2	47.6
Little	61.5	47.1
Not at all	17.2	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Participation in collective action appears to be a primary means of resolving problems. This explains the high level of trust these organizations



inspire, despite their organizational and operational problems, but only when there appear to be no better options. Only 14 percent mention community organizations as the best institution through which their community's principal problems could be resolved (Table 2.5). When respondents were asked who could better administer hypothetical resources for making improvements in the community, only 9 percent said community organizations. As has often been said, civil society organizations exist in Peru, but they are very weak, do not rise beyond the local level and immediate needs, and do not attain the stature of social or political interlocutors at the national level.

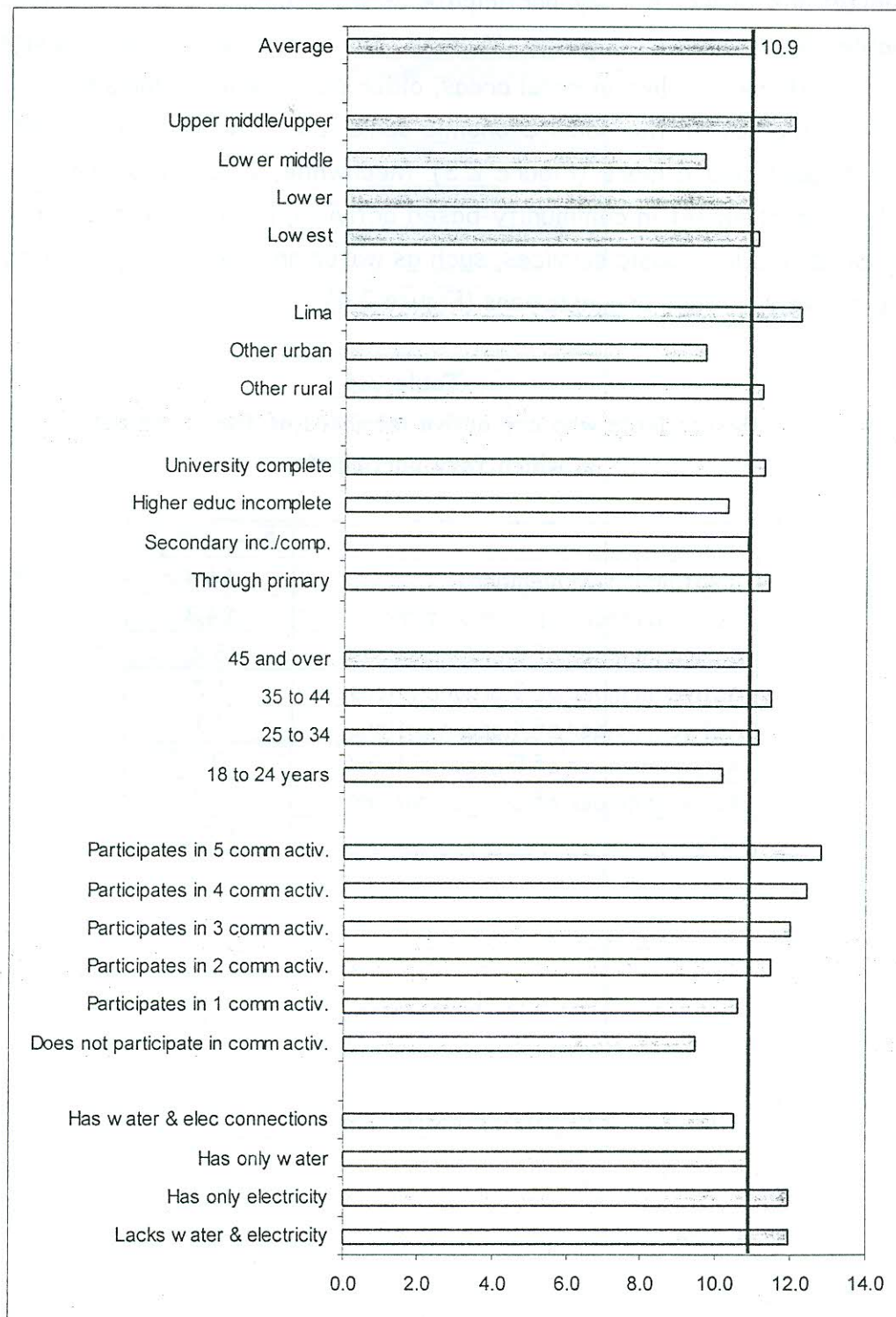
**Table 2.5**  
Through what organization or institution do you believe  
the problems in your community could best be resolved?

Institution	1999
Asking (demanding) support from local government	44.6
Asking support from an institution (church, NGO, other)	15.8
Through the organizations in my community	14.0
Reaching agreements with my neighbors	10.1
Seeking support from a political group or representative	8.1
Through what I can do for myself or together with my family	3.8
Through the police	1.9
The central government	1.0
Other	0.6
Total	100.0

Participation in civil society organizations varies significantly according to age, education, area of residence, socio-economic level, whether the household has water and electricity, and level of involvement in community-based activism. Young people and those who show lower levels of community-based activism also participate less in civil society organizations. Once again, the poor, especially those who lack electricity and water, participate most, to the extent that participation in an organization appears to be a strategy for addressing problems.



Figure 2.3  
Scale of participation in civil society organizations,  
according to socio-demographic variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 26

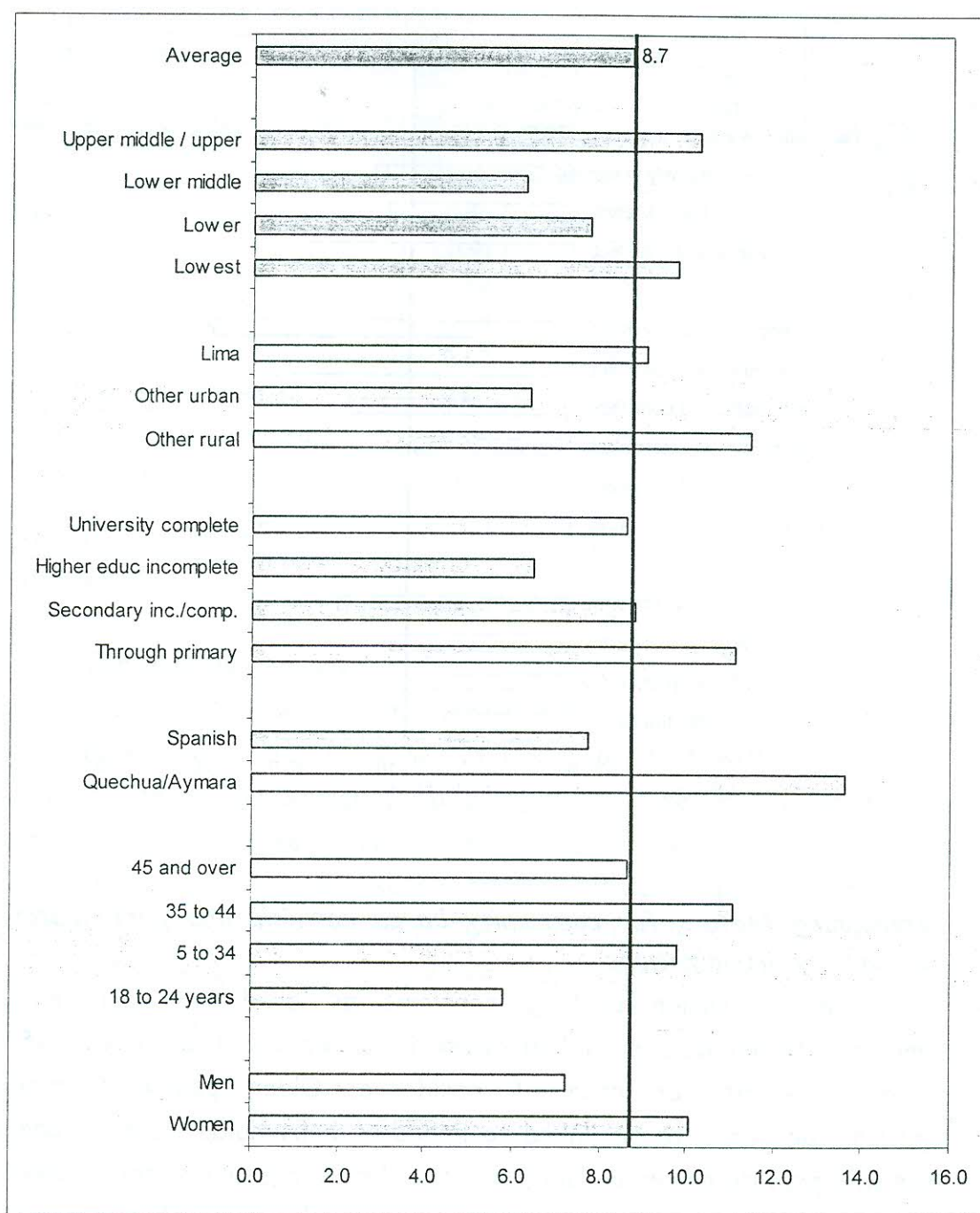
If we focus on those who participate actively in their organizations (Table 2.6) -- that is, those who frequently attend meetings of the organizations in which they participate -- we find that sex is a relevant variable, as is native language. Women, those whose native language is Quechua, those who live in rural areas, older people and, surprisingly, those at the extremes of the socio-economic scale, both the wealthiest and the poorest, participate more (Figure 2.3). Meanwhile, those who show higher levels of involvement in community-based activism, place more trust in their neighbors, and lack basic services, such as water and electricity, participate more actively in their organizations (Figure 2.4).

Table 2.6  
Respondents who are active members of the organizations  
in which they participate

	Percentage
Is not an active member	64.4
Active member of 1 organization	24.3
Active member of 2 organizations	8.2
Active member of 3 organizations	1.7
Active member of 4 organizations	1.1
Active member of 5 organizations	0.3
Active member of 6 organizations	0.1
Total	100.0

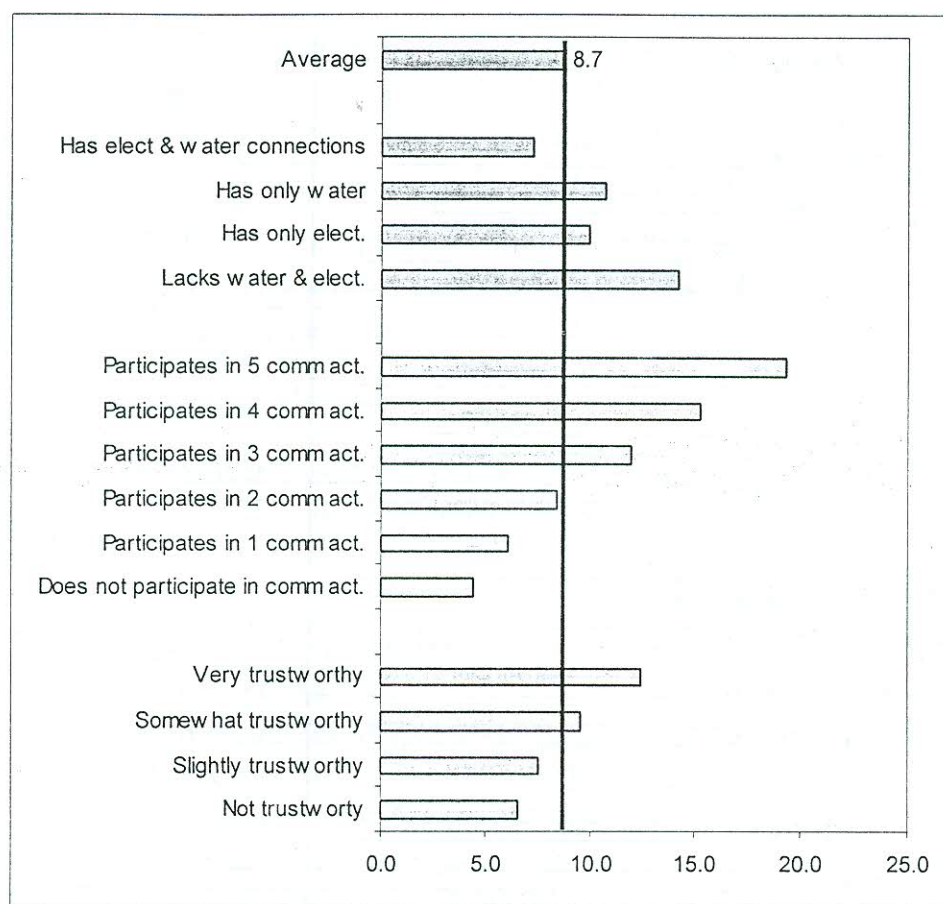


Figure 2.4  
Scale of active participation<sup>2</sup> in civil society organizations,  
according to socio-demographic variables (1999)



<sup>2</sup> This index was designed on the basis of those who said they frequently attended meetings of their organization (see Table 2.6)

Figure 2.5  
Scale of participation in civil society organizations, according to satisfaction of  
basic needs, community-based activism and trust in neighbors (1999)



### *Determining factors for community-based activism and participation in civil society organizations*

The regression analysis confirms as predictor variables for community-based activism all of those indicated for the analysis of the average, except for area of residence. Older people (community participation tends to be linked to heads of households, as they are the ones who provide money or labor, or attend meetings where they represent the entire family), men, those with more education, those in poorer economic conditions and those whose native language is Quechua participate more. Tolerance for presidential authoritarianism, as well as interpersonal trust, continue to indicate greater activism.



Table 2.7  
Regression analysis of community-based activism,  
using various control variables (1999)

Predictor Variables	Non-standardized Coefficients		Stan- dardized Coeff.	t value	Signifi- -cance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Age	0.46	0.07	0.18	6.61	0.00
Sex	5.41	1.74	0.08	3.11	0.00
Education	0.68	0.28	0.08	2.44	0.01
Area of residence	-0.48	1.37	-0.01	-0.35	0.72
Native language	-9.63	2.60	-0.11	-3.71	0.00
Socio-economic condition	-2.67	0.91	-0.11	-2.95	0.00
Scale of interpersonal trust	6.02	1.04	0.16	5.80	0.00
Scale of tolerance for authoritarian presidents	3.28	0.77	0.12	4.28	0.00
Constant	5.72	4.95		1.15	0.25
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.096				

Participation in civil society organizations is also influenced by greater age, but unlike community-based activism, it is also related to lower levels of education and to the sex of the respondent, with higher levels of participation among women (who participate more in the organizations considered in the questionnaire). Having a poorer socio-economic condition and lacking basic services like electricity and water also indicate greater participation among respondents, as do a high level of involvement in community-based activism and greater interpersonal trust.

**Table 2.8**  
**Regression analysis of participation in civil society organizations,**  
**using various control variables (1999)**

Predictor Variables	Non-standardized Coefficients		Standardized coeff.	t value	Significance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Area of residence	1.18	0.16	0.21	7.15	0.00
Age	0.01	0.01	0.02	1.01	0.31
Native language	-0.06	0.30	-0.01	-0.20	0.84
Education	-0.02	0.03	-0.02	-0.55	0.58
Socio-economic condition	-0.14	0.11	-0.04	-1.22	0.22
Sex	-0.64	0.20	-0.07	-3.11	0.00
Scale of community-based activism	0.70	0.07	0.26	10.55	0.00
Scale of interpersonal trust	0.11	0.12	0.02	0.92	0.36
House has electricity and water connections	-0.63	0.11	-0.17	-5.55	0.00
Constant	6.80	0.67		10.22	0.00
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.118				



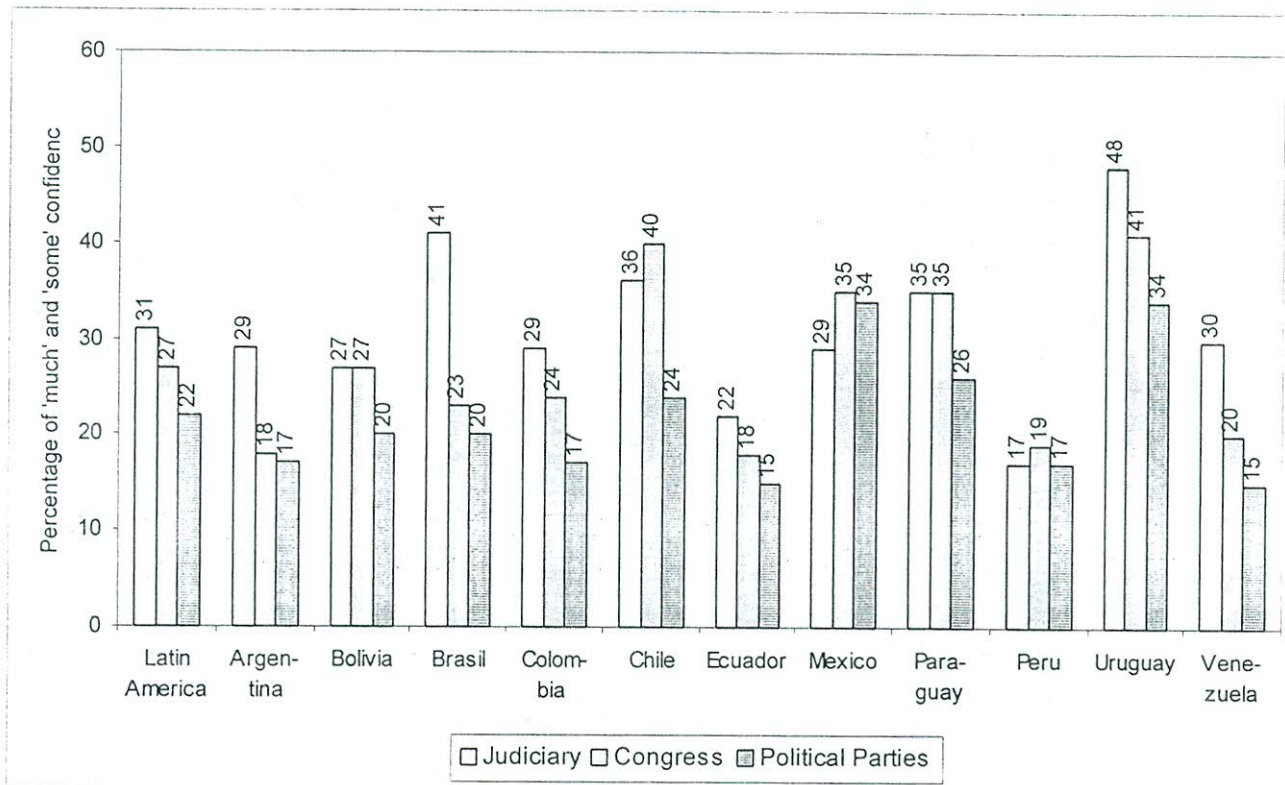
### 3. LEGITIMACY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

#### 3.1. CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Throughout the last decade, there has been a serious institutional crisis in Peru. As a result, levels of legitimacy of institutions and the political system are very low, among the lowest in Latin America. According to the 1998 *Latinobarómetro* survey, the performance of the judicial system, Congress and political parties receive particularly poor ratings.

Figure 3.1

Latin America: Confidence in the judicial system, Congress and political parties (*Latinobarómetro* 1998)



The 1999 survey, however, shows a slight improvement in levels of confidence (Figure 3.2). We believe the recovery in the government's approval rating could be the root of these changes. Taking into consideration Apoyo's data of approval ratings for Fujimori in the city of Lima in the past four years (Figure 3.3), we see it has made a 20-point recovery (in December 1998 he had a 33-percent approval rating, while in December 1999 this rose to 53 percent).

Figure 3.2  
Confidence in institutions of the political system and other social institutions (1996-1999)

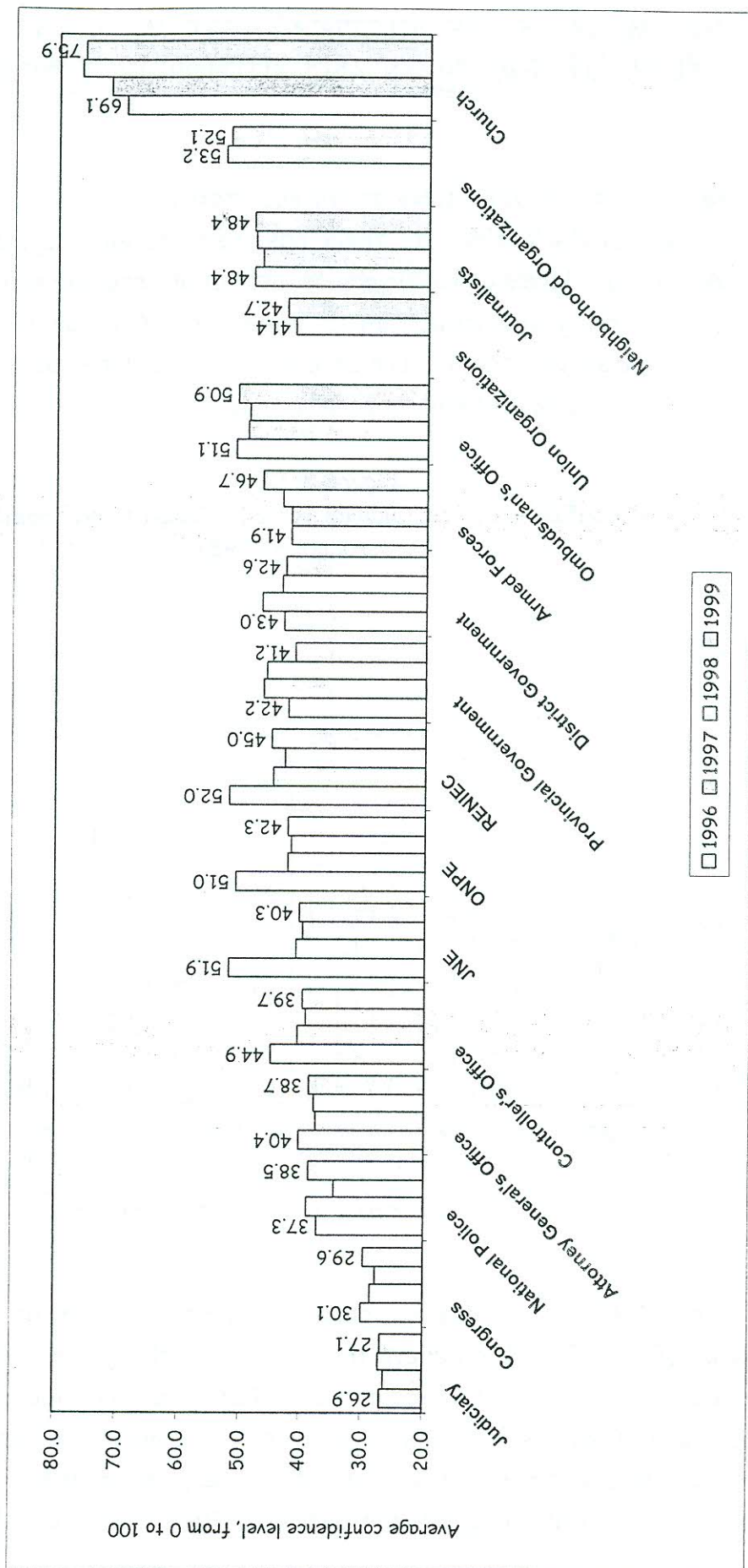
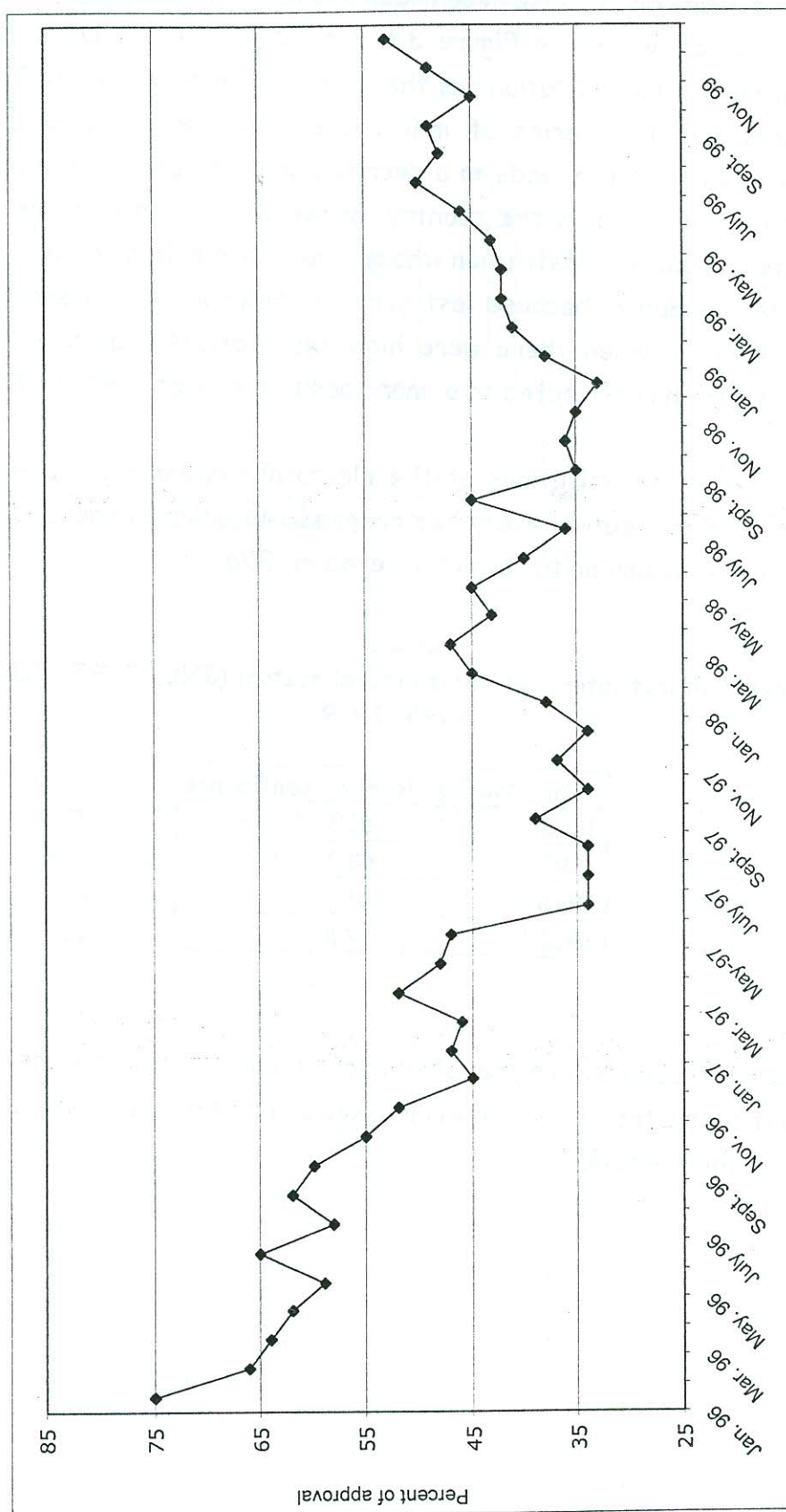




Figure 3.3  
Approval of Alberto Fujimori's performance (1990 - 1999)



Source: Apoyo Opinión y Mercado. Monthly opinion reports, 1990 to 1999.

Returning to Figure 3.2, it is interesting to note that for only two institutions is there no increase in confidence among the population. One is the judicial system (as we saw in Figure 3.1, Peru is one of the Latin American countries in which this institution has the lowest confidence rating). This could be an expression of a series of indications that the judiciary is not an independent power. It also leads to a decrease in confidence in the guarantee of receiving a fair trial in the country, as we will see in Chapter 6. Local governments are another institution whose confidence ratings do not increase. This is understandable, because last year's survey was taken shortly after municipal elections, when there were high expectations regarding new local governments, which contributed to a more positive view of these institutions.

Confidence in institutions of the electoral system has also increased. Even so, in 1999 one out of every two respondents believes there is electoral fraud, a proportion similar to that registered in 1998.

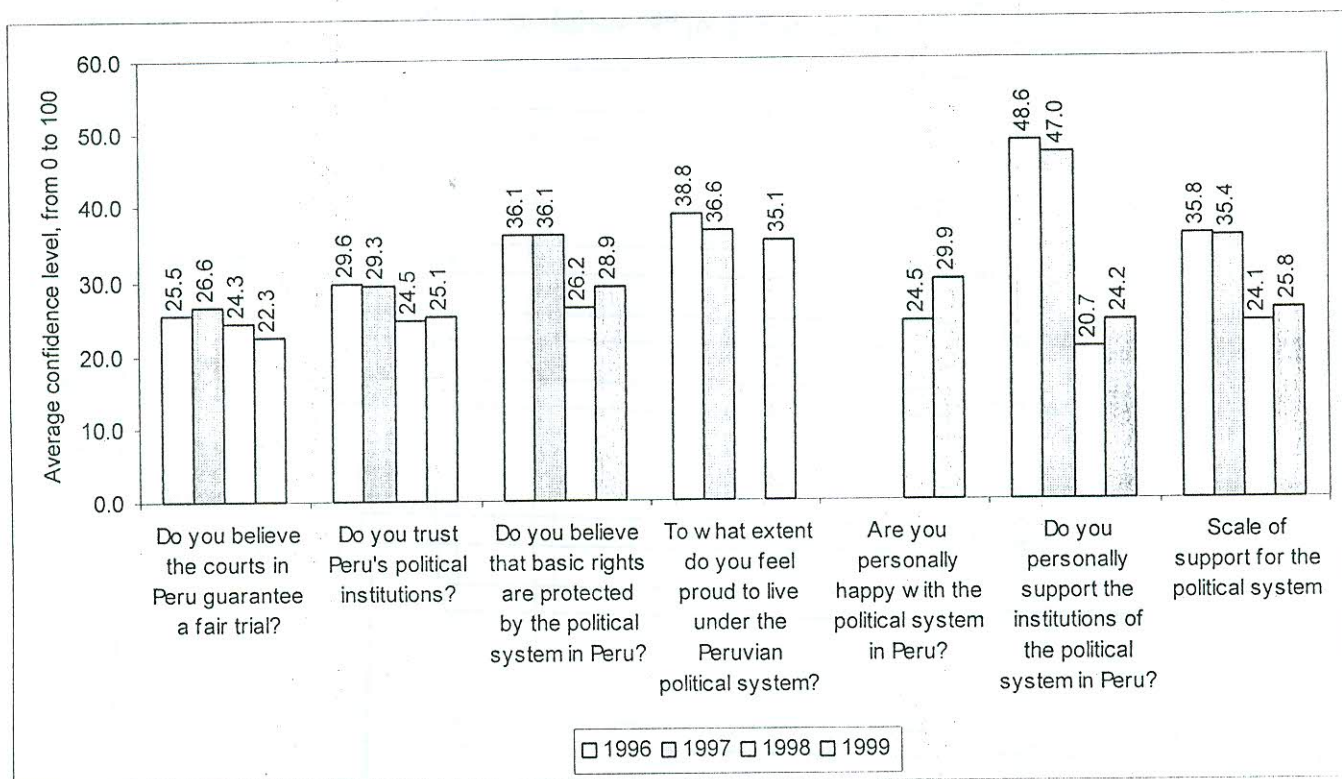
Table 3.1  
Confidence in institutions of the electoral system (JNE, ONPE, RENIEC)  
1996 -1999

Year	Average level of confidence
1996	51.0
1997	42.3
1998	41.1
1999	42.6

Just as respondents were asked about their confidence in institutions of the political system, they also were asked a series of questions about their support for this system.

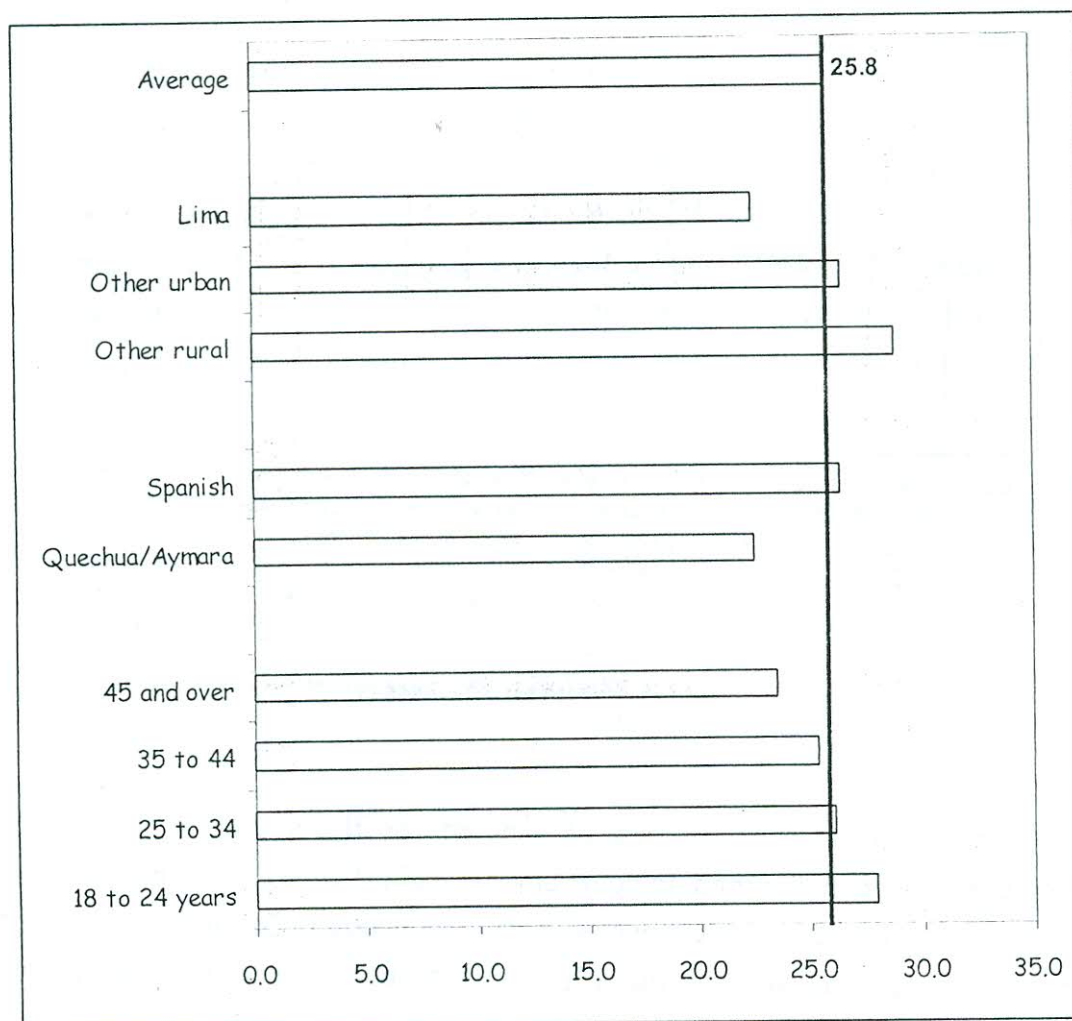


Figure 3.4  
Support for the Peruvian political system (1996 - 1999)



In general, the average level of support for the system is very low. In no case does it reach the median point on the scale (50). Younger people, those who live in rural areas and those whose native language is Spanish show slightly more support for the system. But while this support is slightly greater than average (25.6), it is still very low.

Figure 3.5  
Support for the political system, according to relevant  
socio-demographic variables (1999)



In countries with a stable democratic system, support for the political system is almost synonymous with support for the democratic system. In Peru, however, as in other Latin American countries, the functioning of democracy is still a pending issue (Figure 3.6). Only Paraguay and Brazil show lower ratings than Peru (8 percent) when respondents are asked if they believe democracy is fully established in the country.

For this reason, during the two years in which questions about the functioning of democracy were included in the study, greater support for the political system was registered among those who give a higher rating to the functioning of democracy in the country (Figure 3.7) and those who show a greater level of tolerance for civilian authoritarianism (Figure 3.8).



Figure 3.6

Latin America: Do you believe that democracy is fully established in your country, or do you believe more must be done in order to achieve full democracy?  
(Latinobarómetro 1998)

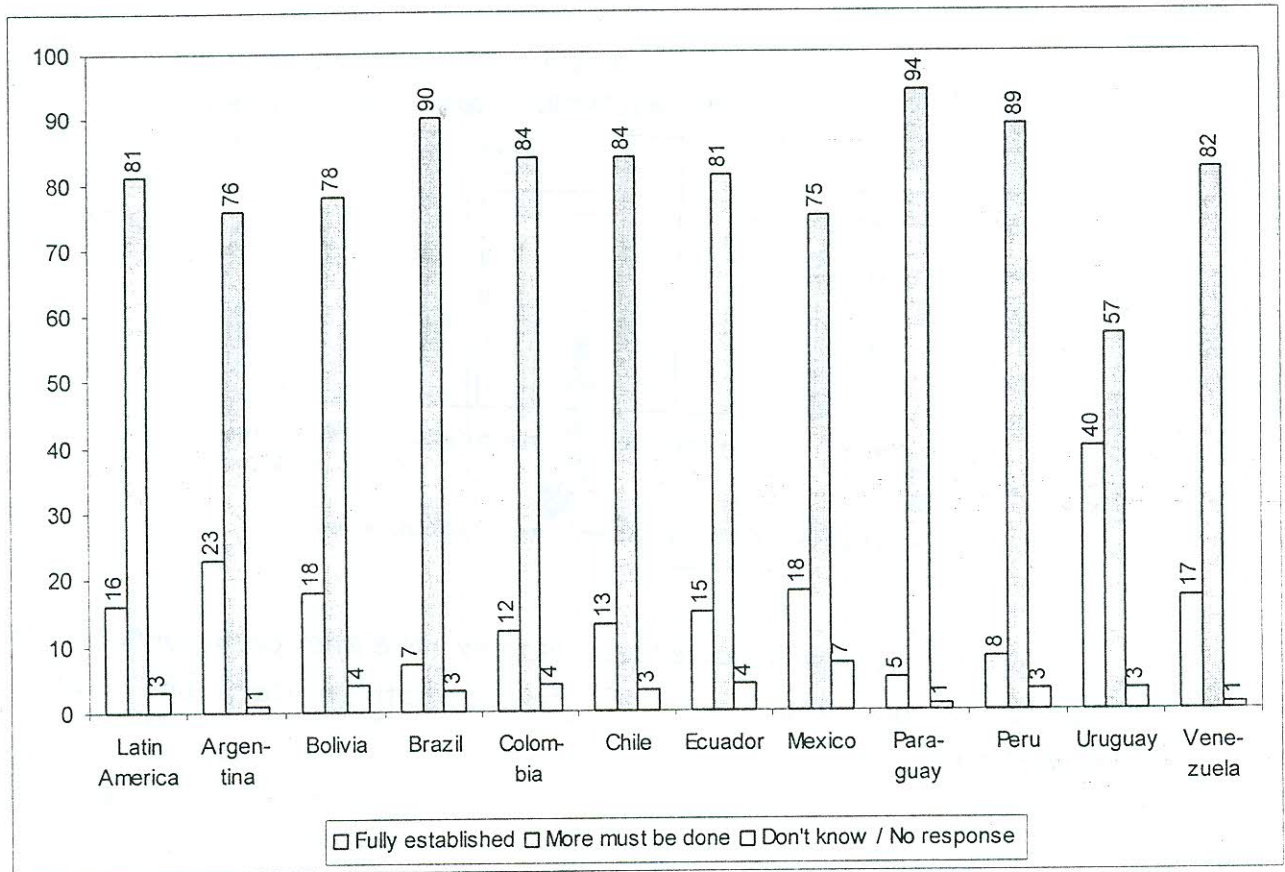
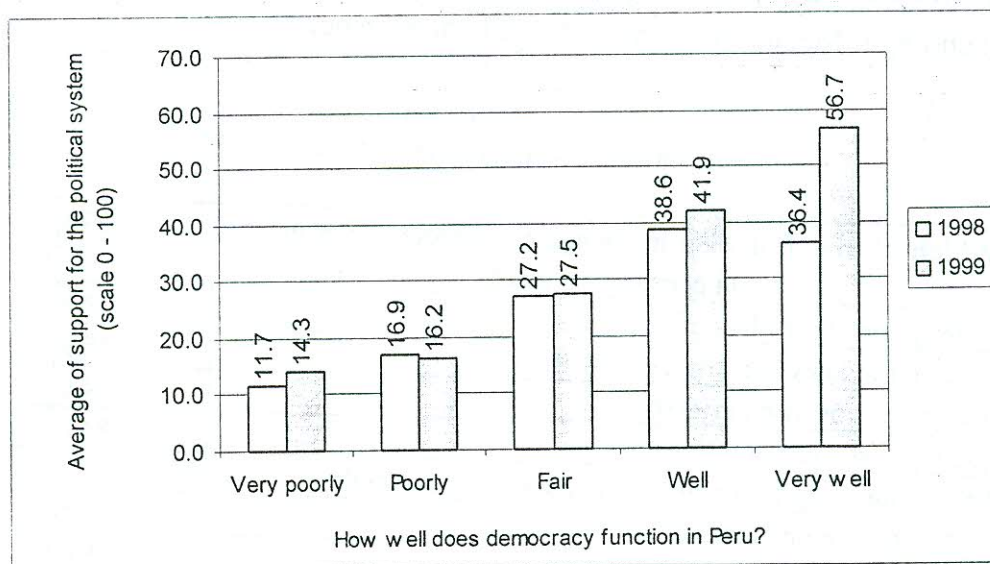
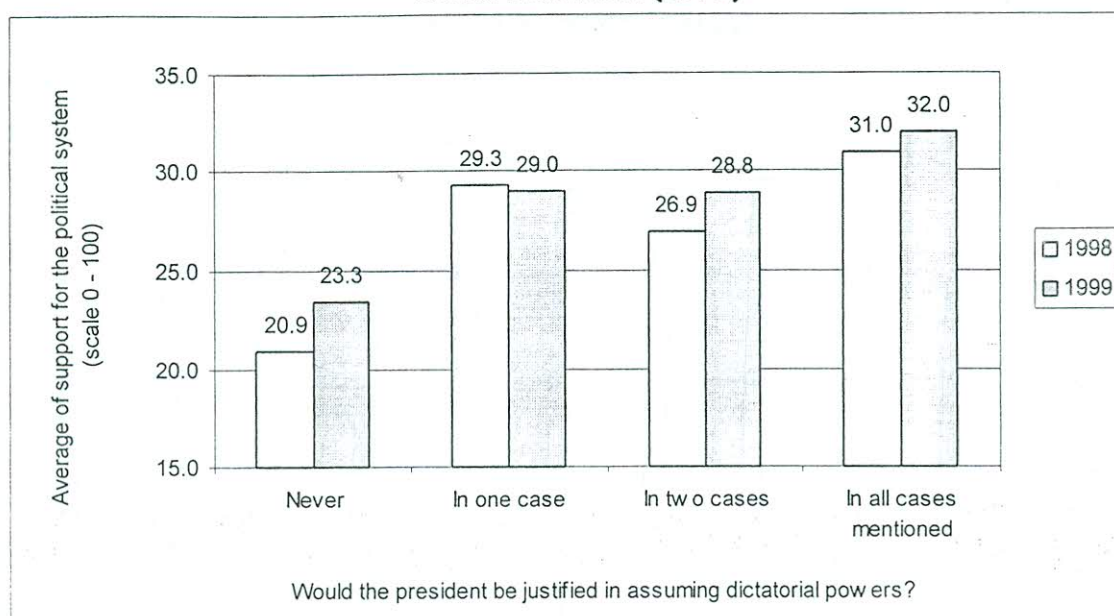


Figure 3.7

Support for the political system, according to evaluation of the functioning of democracy (1999)



**Figure 3.8**  
Support for the political system, according to tolerance for presidential authoritarianism (1999)



The points we have indicated lead us to examine what people understand by democracy, and their attitudes toward both military and civilian authoritarianism.

### 3.2. ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY

Democracy appears to be a polysemic concept, in which what we could call liberal conceptions (which emphasize the importance of individual rights), participatory, plebiscitary ideas (which emphasize identification of the masses with leaders), republican concepts (which emphasize respect for the State of Law) and egalitarian ideas coexist in all social groups

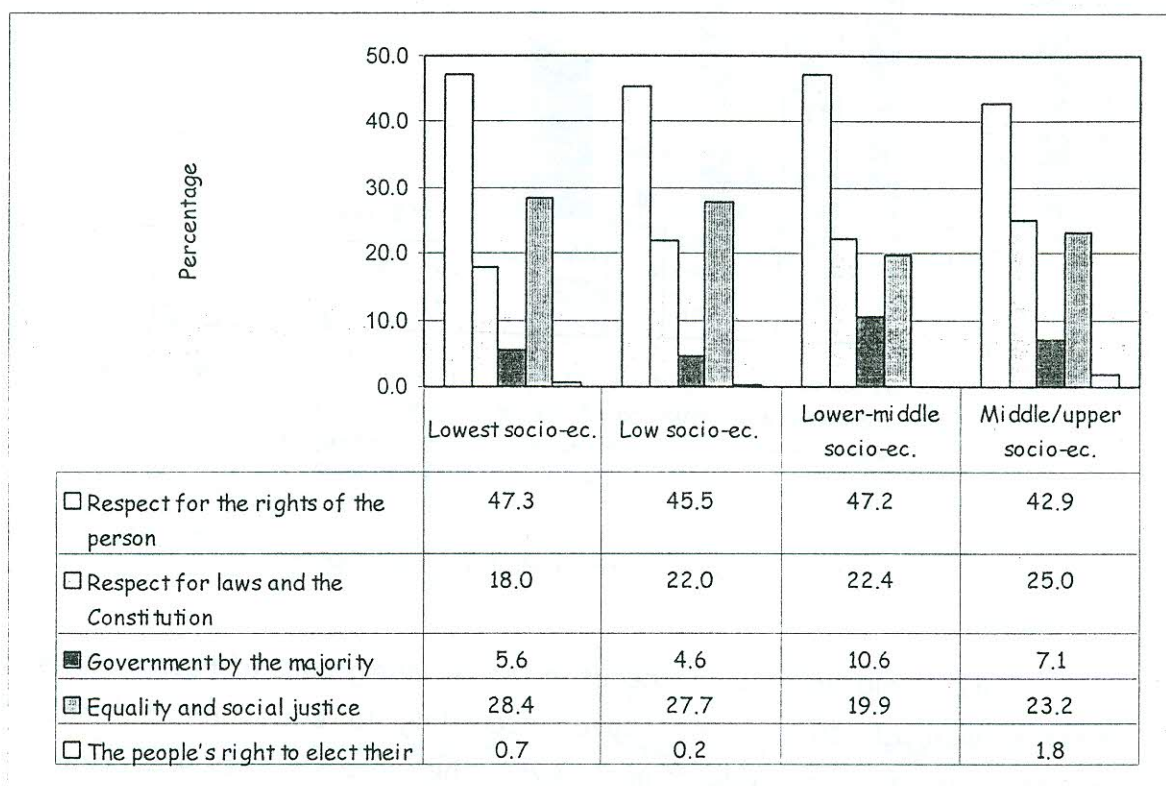
**Table 3.2**  
Definition of democracy (1998 - 1999)

Which of the following meanings of democracy is most important to you?	1998	1999
Respect for the rights of the person	48.7	42.6
Respect for laws and the Constitution	15.9	18.6
Government by the majority	4.9	5.3
Equality and social justice	24.6	24.8
The people's right to elect their governing officials		0.4
Don't know / no response	6.0	8.2
Total	100	100



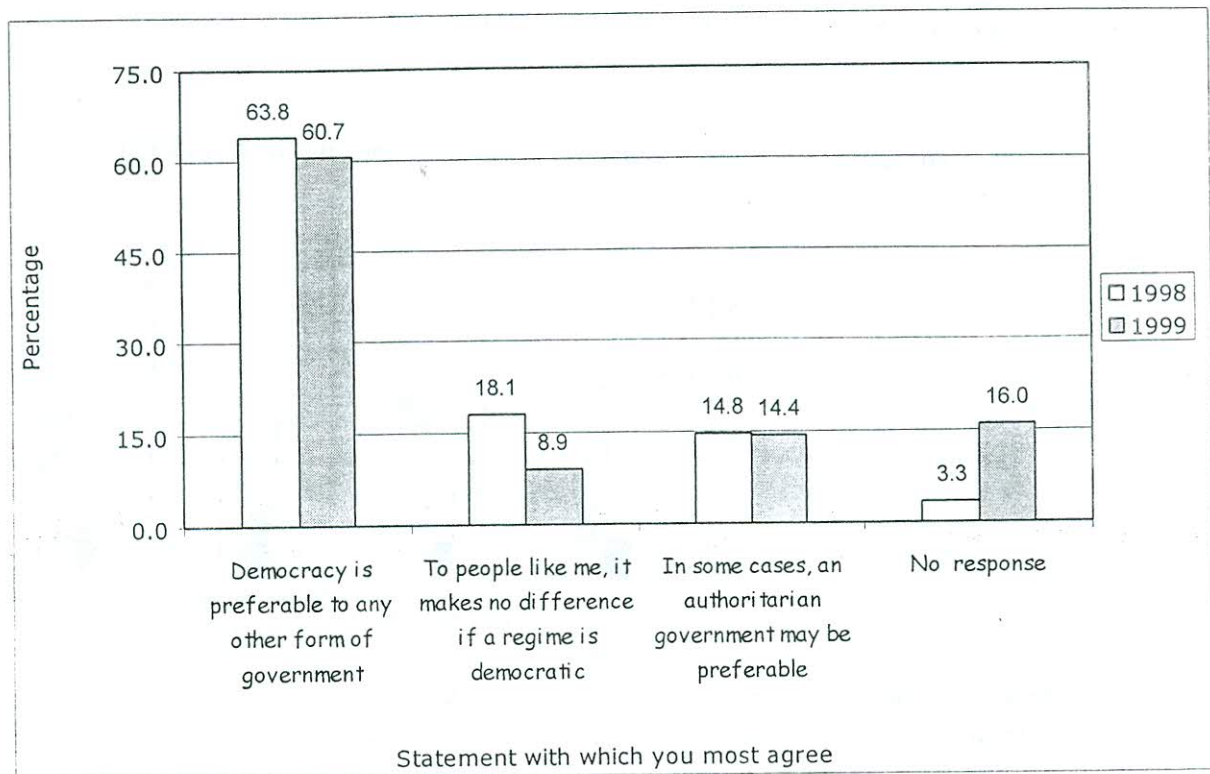
Among low socio-economic sectors, there is greater sensitivity to egalitarian and plebiscitary components, while higher sectors lean somewhat more toward republican elements (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9  
Meaning of democracy, according to socio-economic level (1999)



With regard to preference for a democratic system as a form of government, more than 60 percent of those surveyed showed themselves clearly to favor democracy. It is noteworthy that in the past year, the proportion of those who do not take a stand on this has increased significantly (Figure 3.10).

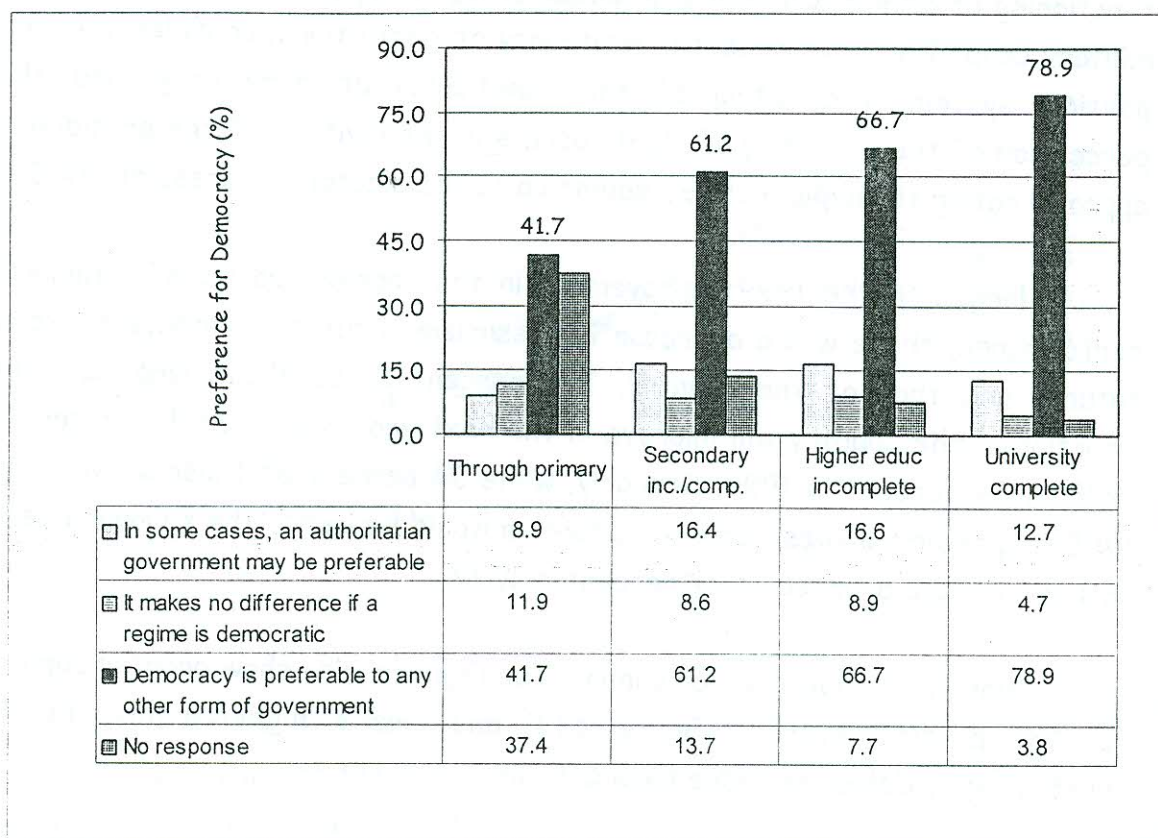
Figure 3.10  
Preference for democracy as a form of government. 1998 - 1999



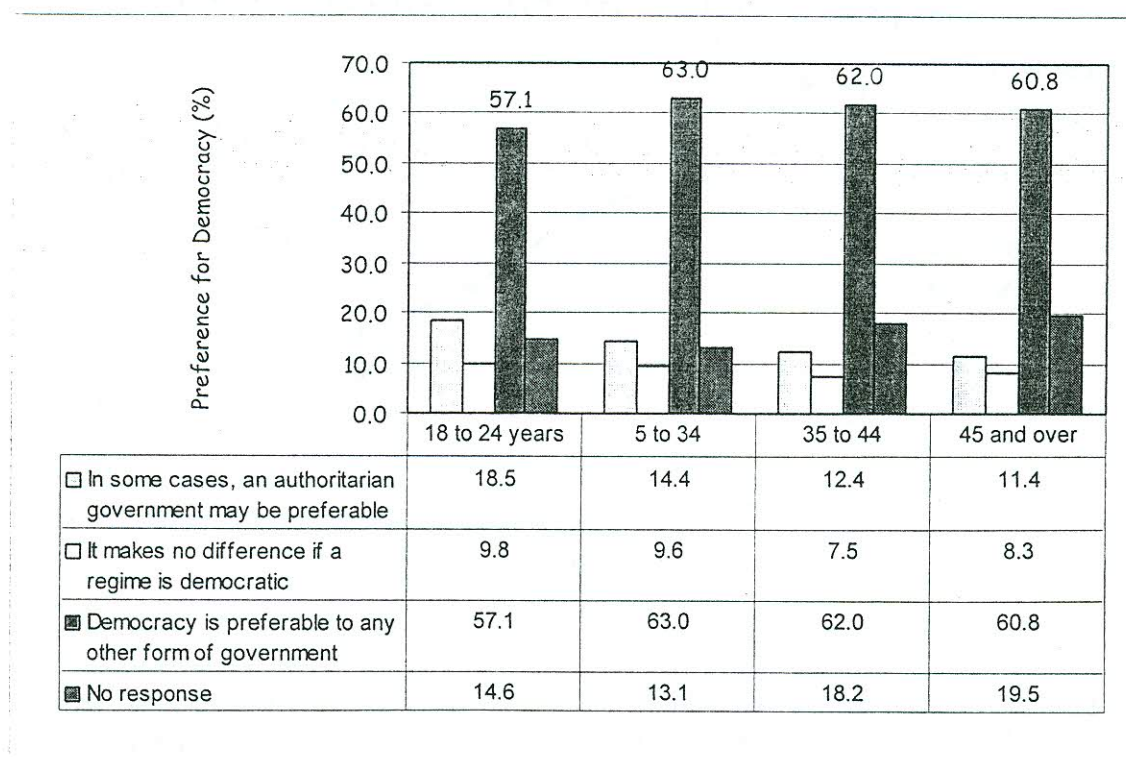
This is relatively homogeneous in the various groups of respondents. The most significant differences appear according to education and age; the greater the age and educational level, the greater the preference for democracy. Among those who have a primary education or less, 41.7 percent responded that they prefer democracy as a political regime (Figure 3.11), and 57.1 percent of those between ages 18 and 24 gave this answer (Figure 3.12). Unlike last November's survey, it is not clear that the preference for democracy changes according to other socio-demographic variables.



**Figure 3.11**  
Preference for democracy as a form of government, according to educational level (1999)



**Figure 3.12**  
Preference for democracy as a form of government, according to age groups (1999)



Between 1998 and 1999, there is slight improvement in the rating of the functioning of democracy, and a decrease in tolerance for the possibility of a military coup. The improvement in legitimacy of institutions, confidence in the political system, the rating of the functioning of democracy, and the perception of the upholding of rights occurs in the context of the president's approval rating throughout 1999, leading up to the electoral process of 2000.

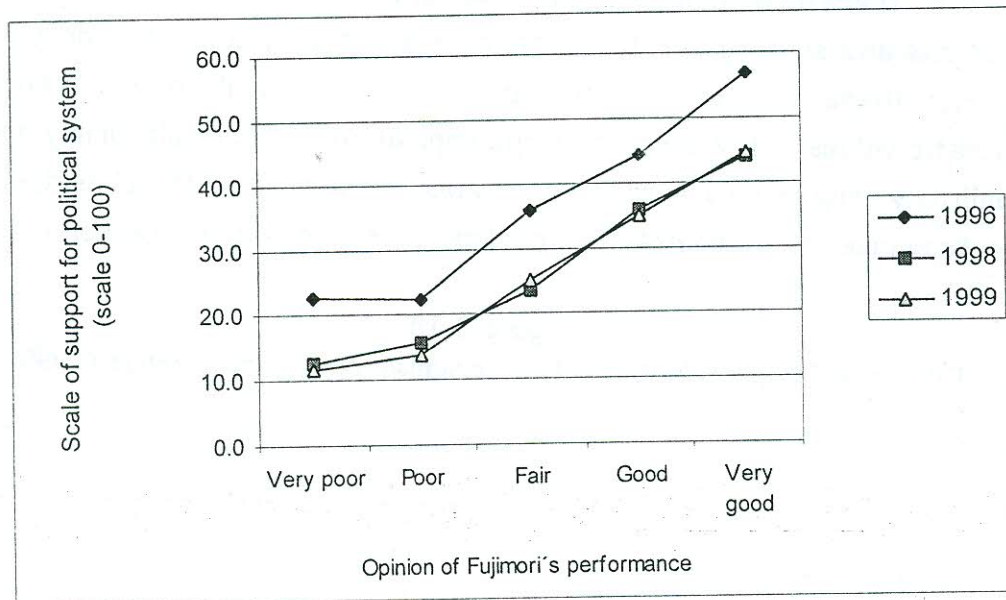
Along with the 1999 improvement in the approval rating of Fujimori's performance, there was a decrease in pessimism about respondents' personal futures and that of the country. The percentage of those who said the situation in the country will improve in the next year rose from 18 percent in 1998 to 24 percent in 1999. Similarly, while 34 percent of those surveyed in 1998 said their families' economic situation would be worse the following year, this percentage dropped to 27 percent in 1999.

Those who show greater support for Fujimori also show greater support for the political system (Figure 3.13) and give a higher rating to the functioning of democracy (see Figure 3.7).

Those who show greater support for Fujimori also show greater support for the political system (Figure 3.13). This relationship has held true during all the years of the study; it may be that the respondents do not differentiate between the political system and the government, personified by the president.

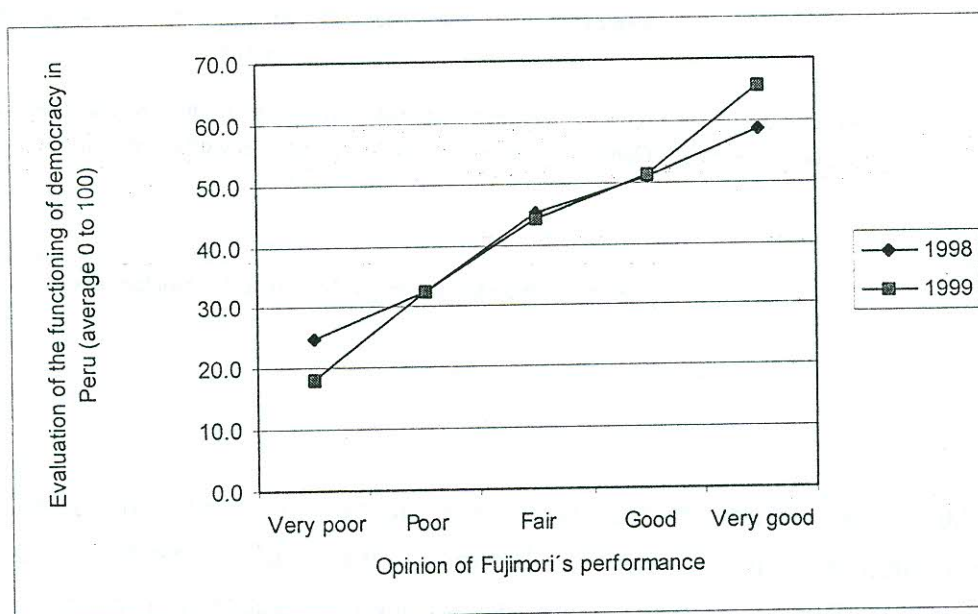


Figure 3.13  
Support for the political system, according to evaluation  
of President Fujimori's performance (1996 - 1999<sup>1</sup>)



In the last two years of the study, we also found that those who give a higher rating to the functioning of democracy also have a higher opinion of Alberto Fujimori's performance.

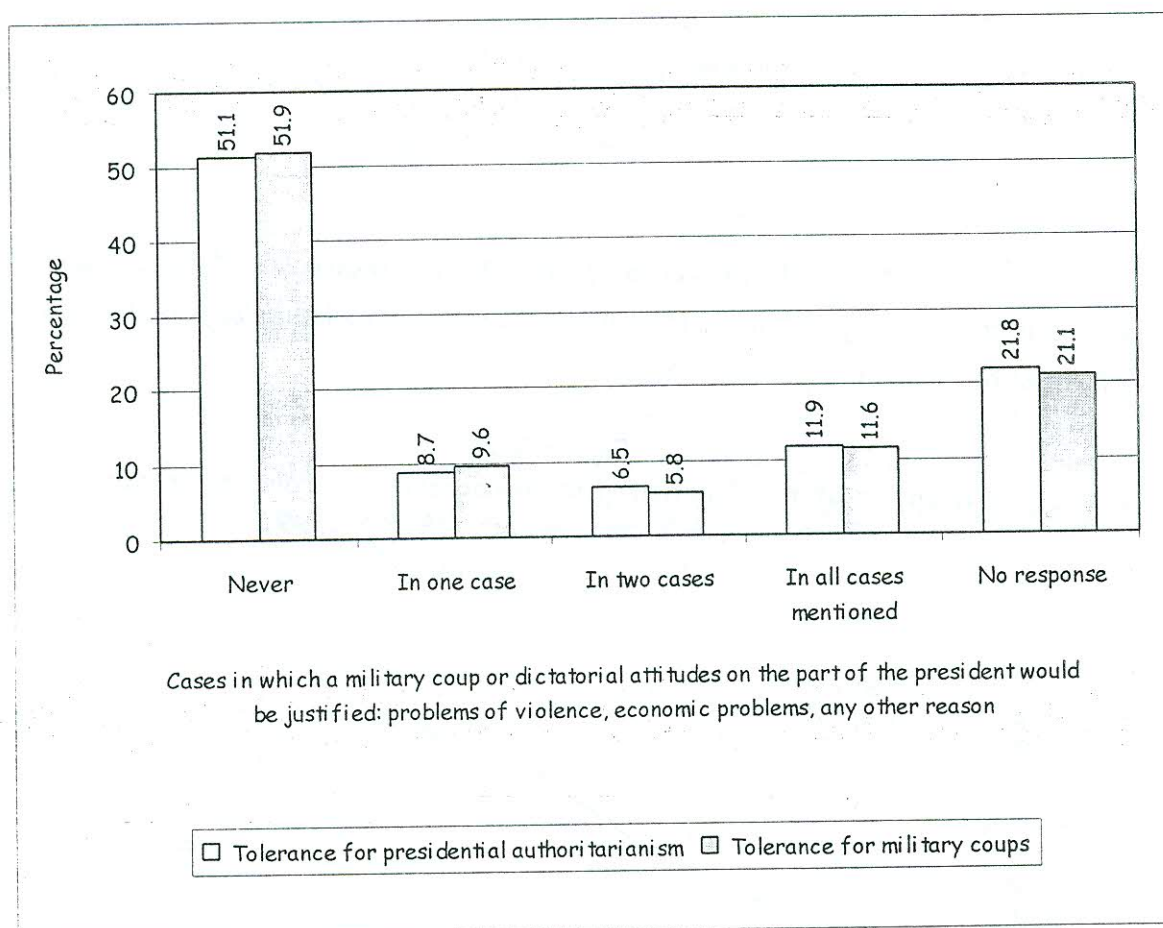
Figure 3.14  
Evaluation of the functioning of democracy, according to opinion  
of Fujimori's performance (1998 - 1999)



<sup>1</sup> We do not include the 1997 survey. While the results showed the same relationship, the question was phrased in such a way that it did not produce a scale of responses, but two categories (approve and disapprove), making a comparative graph impossible.

We therefore believe that the slight increase in confidence in institutions and support for the system could be due, not necessarily to the fact that these function better, but to a "relaxation" in preference for democratic values. Fifty percent of the population shows itself firmly opposed to a military coup or authoritarian attitudes on the part of the president. This percentage rises to 60 points if we exclude those who did not respond.

Figure 3.15  
Tolerance for presidential authoritarianism and military coups (1999)



We find that those who are more tolerant of presidential authoritarianism: first, have a higher opinion of President Fujimori's performance (Figure 3.15); second, show greater support for the political system (as we saw in Figure 3.8); and third, are more likely to believe that civil rights are upheld in Peru (Figure 3.17).



Figure 3.16  
Opinion of President Fujimori's performance,  
according to tolerance for presidential authoritarianism (1999)

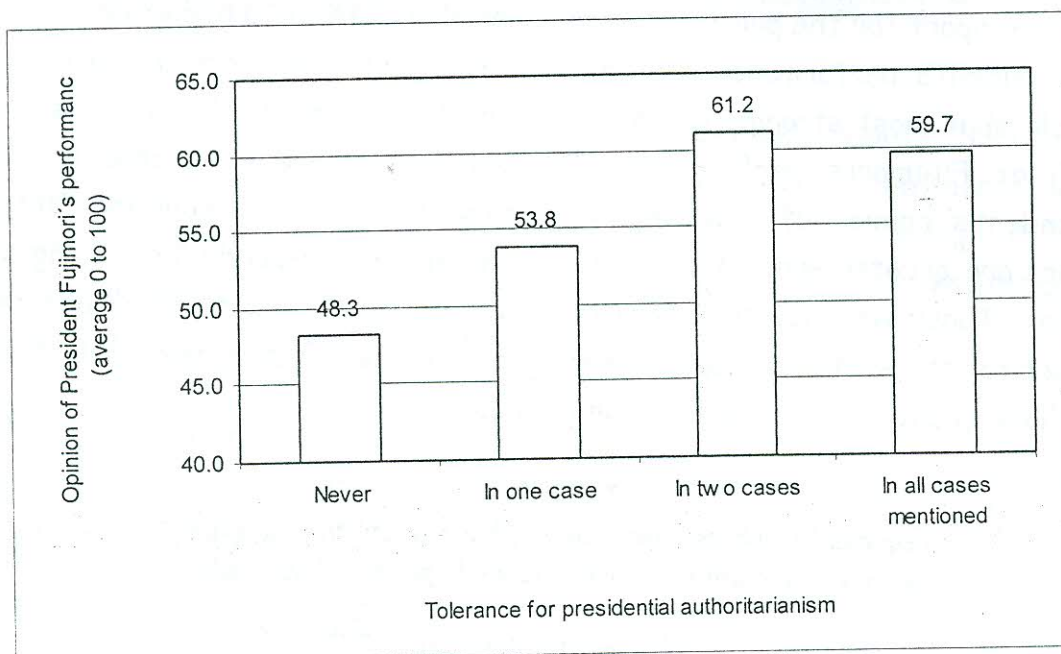
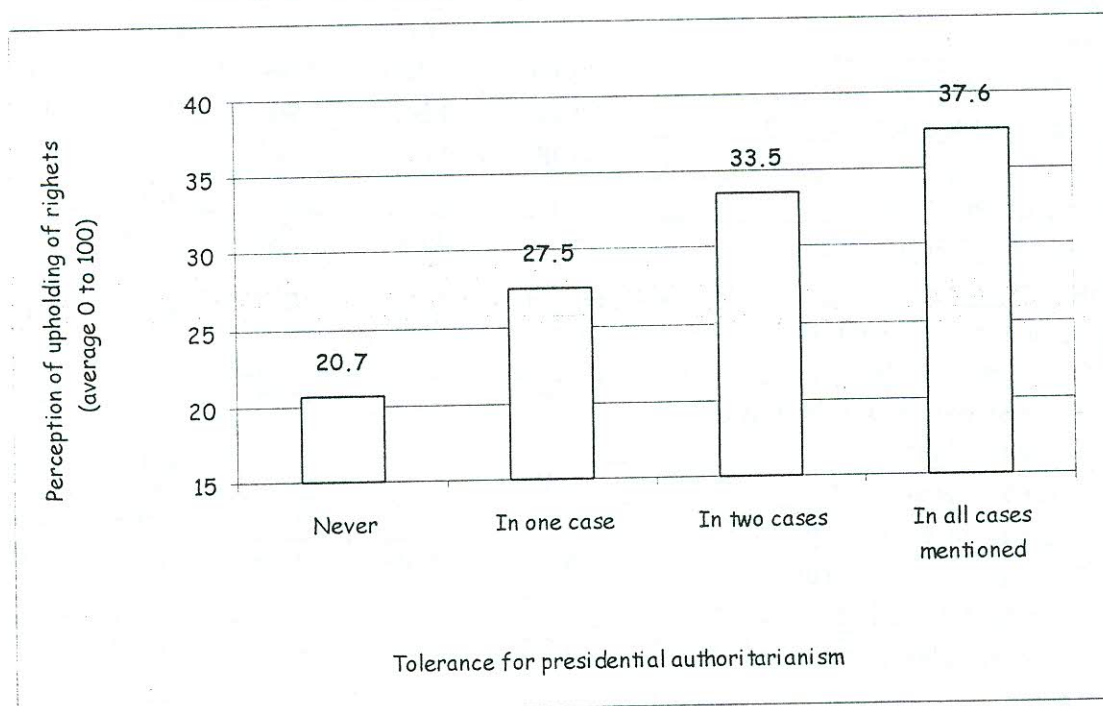


Figure 3.17  
Perception of upholding of rights in Peru,  
according to tolerance for presidential authoritarianism (1999)



Unlike the 1998 survey, this time support for the system does not appear to be clearly related to changes in levels of interest in public affairs, nor does it vary significantly according to educational or socio-economic level.

It does vary with age and area of residence, as young people and those who live in rural areas show greater support for the system. Looking at other variables, greater support for the political system is mainly related to a higher opinion of the president's performance and the functioning of democracy in Peru. The variable that most strongly explains support for the political system is the rating of Fujimori's performance. The second strongest variable is the respondent's opinion of how well democracy works in the country. Other factors are greater support for the system and the respondent's ideological position. Those who say they lean more to the right tend to show greater support for the system, as do those who have greater trust in their neighbors and those who are more interested in politics.

Table 3.3  
Regression analysis of support for the political system,  
with various control variables and "political" variables

	Non-standardized coefficients		Stan- dardized Coeff.	t	Signifi- cance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Age	-0.12	0.04	-0.08	-2.69	0.0
Area of residence	-2.52	0.88	-0.09	-2.85	0.0
Native language	2.17	1.70	0.04	1.28	0.2
Socio-economic condition	0.44	0.56	0.03	0.80	0.4
Sex	-0.38	1.08	-0.01	-0.35	0.7
Educational level	-0.19	0.18	-0.04	-1.05	0.2
Opinion of Fujimori's performance	6.45	0.74	0.28	8.70	0.0
Opinion of how well democracy functions in Peru	7.33	0.86	0.27	8.53	0.0
Scale of extreme left and extreme right	1.07	0.30	0.10	3.52	0.0
Interpersonal trust	2.18	0.67	0.09	3.27	0.0
Scale of interest in politics	0.06	0.02	0.08	2.90	0.0
Scale of tolerance for presidential authoritarianism	0.97	0.56	0.06	1.72	0.0
Scale of tolerance for military coups	-1.07	0.54	-0.06	-1.98	0.0
Preference for democracy as a political regime	0.78	0.79	0.03	0.99	0.3
Constant	-24.78	4.87		-5.08	0.0
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.255				



#### 4. CITIZENSHIP AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Local government is second only to the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office as the State institution that most inspires confidence among citizens. While the average level of confidence is not very high, it is still substantially greater than the level of trust in other State institutions, as we saw in the preceding chapter.

Local governments, whether district or provincial, differ greatly in geographical size, population and the socio-economic level of their citizens. As institutions elected by the local population, however, they offer a closeness that provides greater possibilities for control, fiscal oversight and accountability.

People consider local governments the institutions that best contribute to the resolution of problems in their communities (Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Table 4.1  
Through what organization or institution do you believe  
problems in the community could best be resolved?

Institution	1999
Asking (demanding) support from local government	44.6
Asking support from an institution (church, NGO, other)	15.8
Through the organizations in my community	14.0
Reaching agreements with my neighbors	10.1
Seeking support from a political group or representative	8.1
Through what I can do for myself, or together with my family	3.8
Through the local police	1.9
The central government	1.0
Other	0.6
Total	100.0

**Table 4.2**  
**Institution best able to administer the funds of the community or district**

If your district or community were given money to make improvements, what institution do you believe would be best able to administer the funds?	1999
The church	44.7
The local government	23.3
An NGO or human rights organization	12.4
A State ministry or office	10.2
Community organization	9.1
Other	0.3
Total	100.0

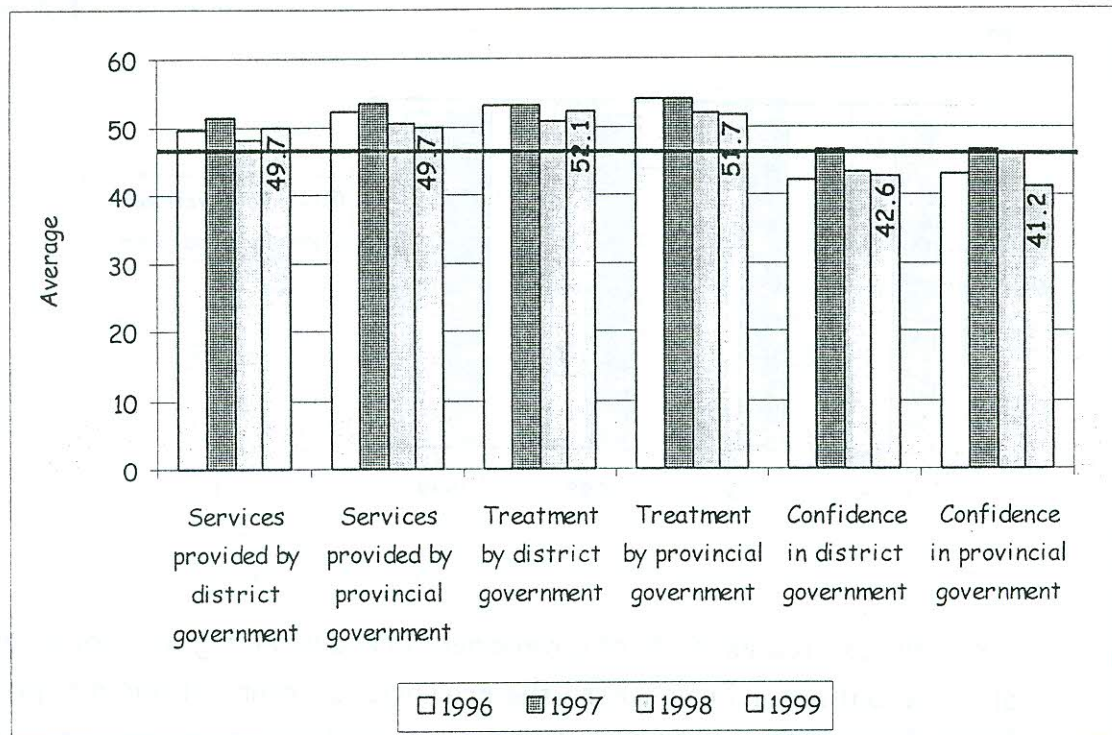
This general view of local governments, in comparison to other institutions, is an important point of departure. To examine their performance, we focus on three aspects of citizens' perceptions of local government:

- The quality of services provided.
- The quality of treatment of citizens.
- The confidence inspired in the population.

In the various years of the study, there have been no major changes in citizens' opinions of treatment, services or the confidence inspired by local governments, whether district or provincial, except for a slight decrease in the past two years (Figure 4.1).



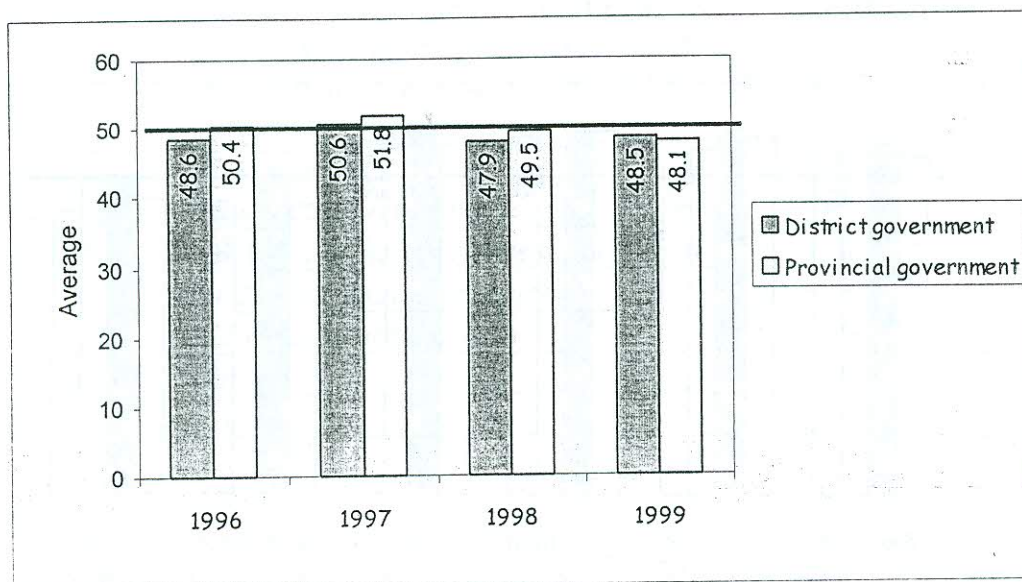
Figure 4.1  
Perception of treatment, services and confidence in local governments  
(1996-1999)



We created two scales of citizens' perceptions of local governments, one for district governments and one for provincial governments<sup>16</sup>. During the four years of the study, the average rating for local governments has held steady around the median point, with respondents showing a slightly higher opinion of provincial governments than district governments (Figure 4.2).

<sup>16</sup> Each of these scales includes the three variables shown in Figure 4.1: treatment, services and confidence.

Figure 4.2  
Scale of evaluation of district and provincial governments  
(1996-1999)



In previous studies, district governments received a higher evaluation in rural areas, but not in Lima, where the provincial government had a higher level of acceptance. In 1999, however, this situation partially reversed in Lima, where both district and provincial governments show the best average ratings by citizens (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).



Figure 4.3  
Evaluation of provincial governments, according to area of residence  
(1996 - 1999)

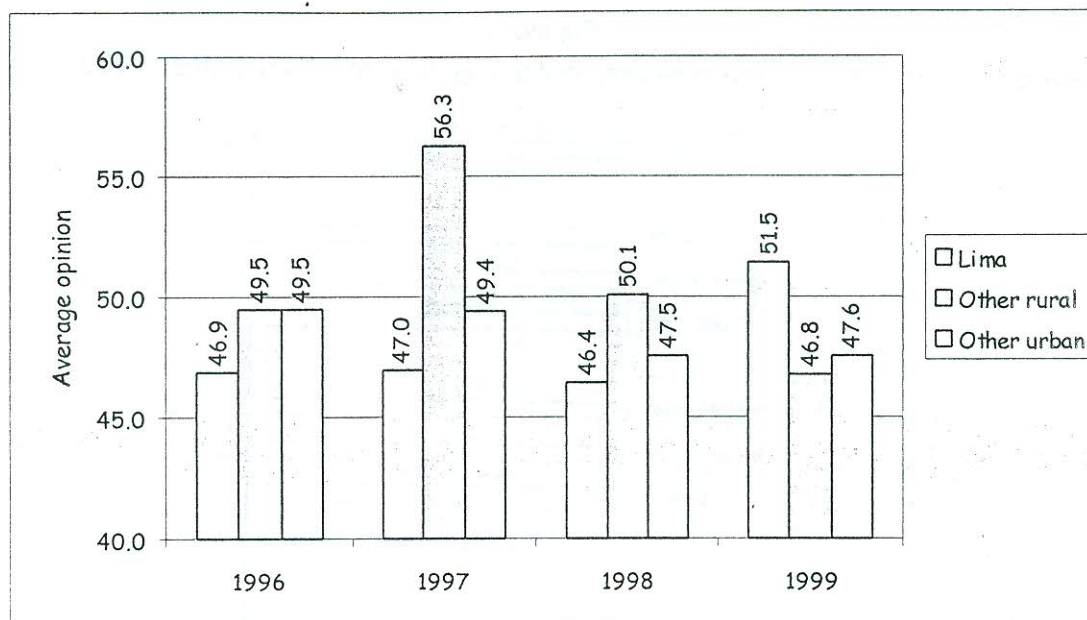
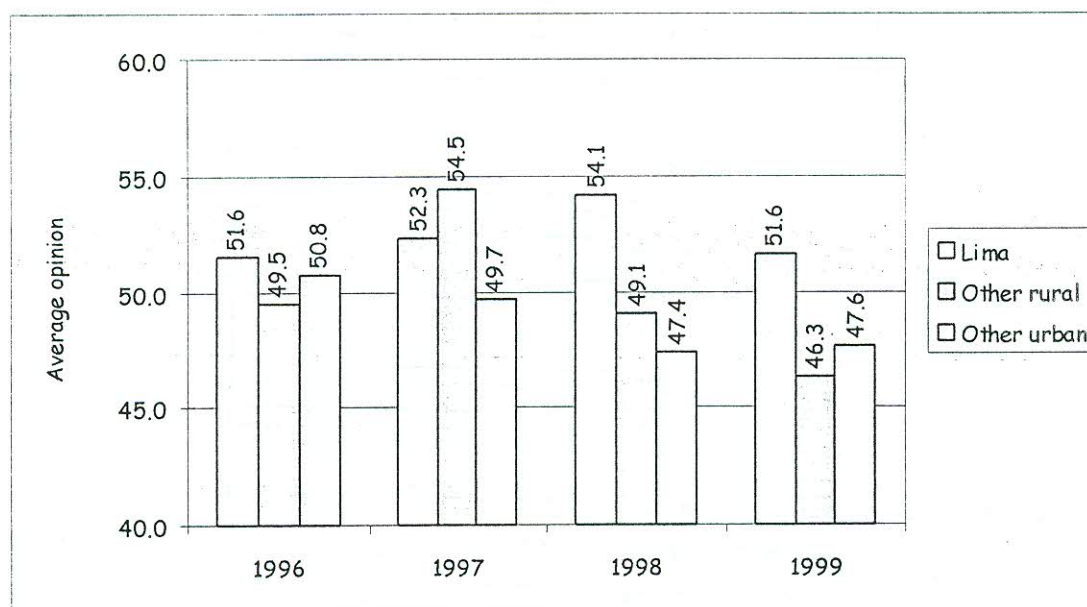


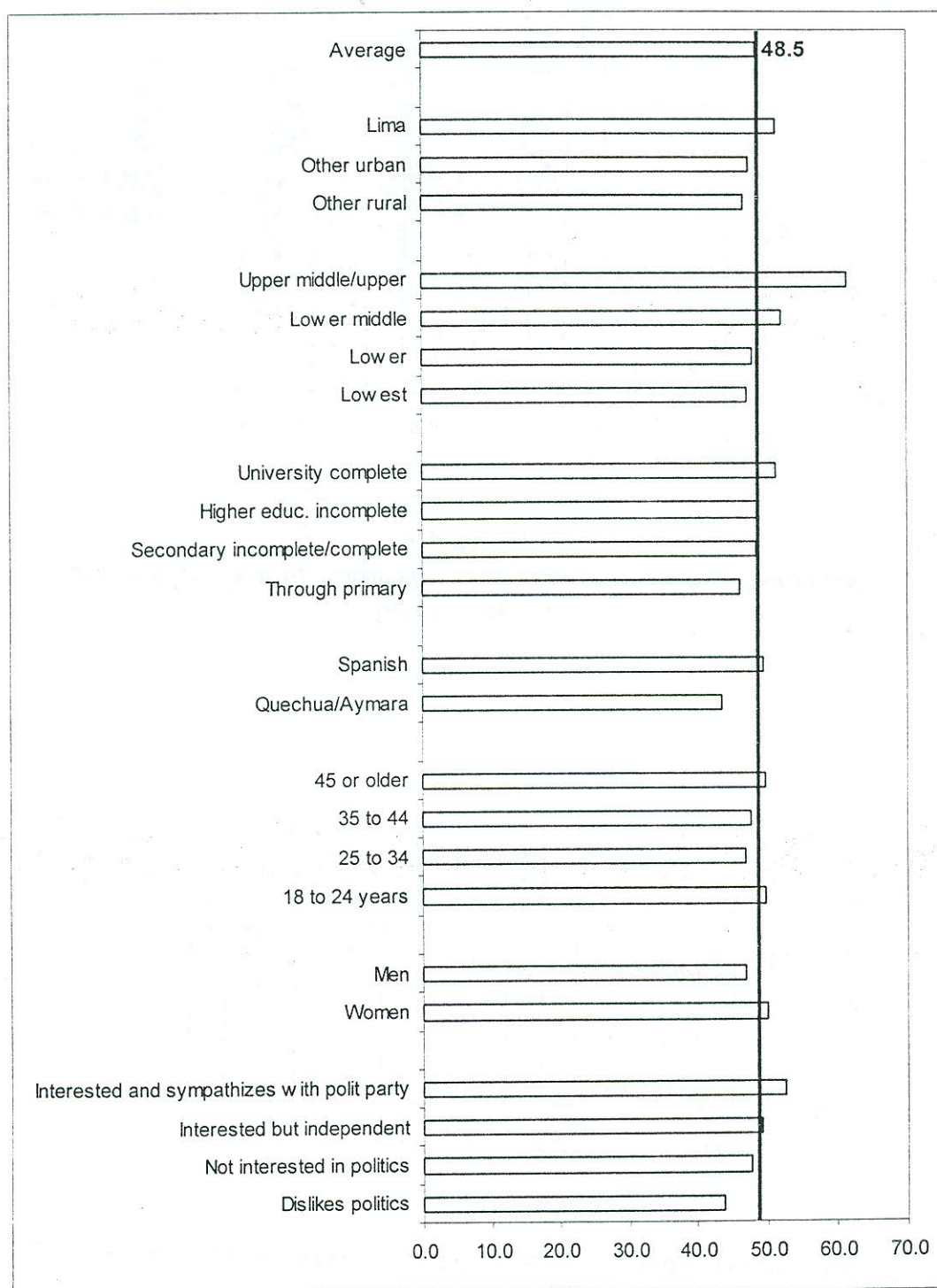
Figure 4.4  
Evaluation of district governments, according to area of residence  
(1996 - 1999)



The higher opinion of both district governments (Figure 4.5) and provincial governments (Figure 4.6) is a function of better education, better socio-economic level, residing in Lima, speaking Spanish as a native language and having greater interest in politics. The age groups that gave district

governments the highest ratings were those from 18 to 24 years and those 45 years or older.

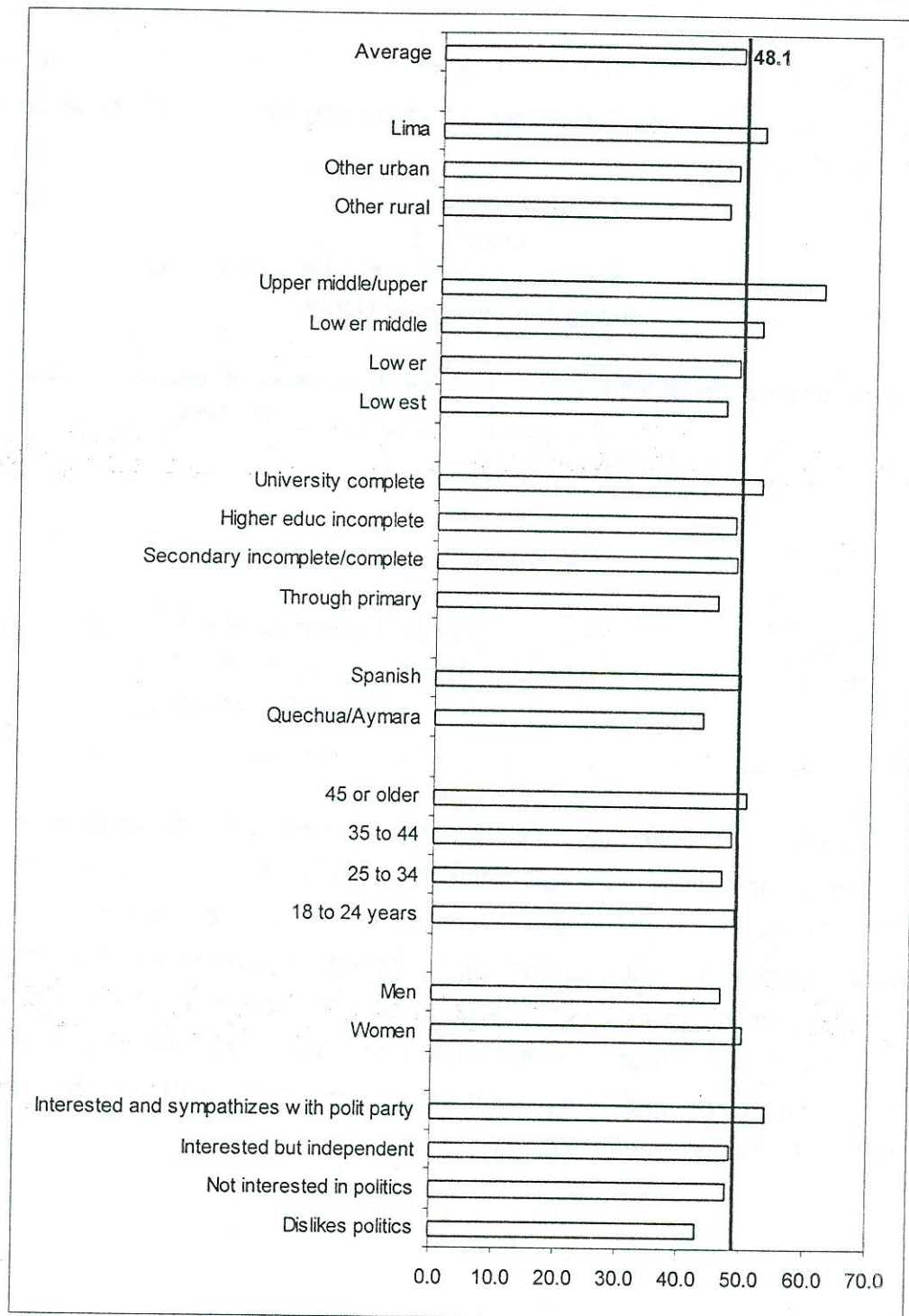
**Figure 4.5**  
Evaluation of district governments, according to control variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100



Figure 4.6  
Evaluation of provincial governments, by various control variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100

### *Citizen participation and evaluation of local government performance*

One way of looking at citizen participation in local governments is to examine attendance at meetings called by the local government. As in the 1998 study, in 1999 we found that less than one-fourth of the sample was called to a local government meeting, although the majority of those called (83 percent) did attend.

Table 4.3  
Attendance at meetings called by the local government  
during the past year (1999)

Total cases in the sample			Total of cases of people called to meetings		
	N° of cases	Percentage		N° of cases	Percentage
Were called	374	21,4	I was called but did not want to attend	20	5.3
Were not called, or no response	1377	78.6	I was called but could not attend	43	11.5
Total	1751	100,0	I was called and attended	311	83.2
			Total	374	100,0

While in 1998 we saw a relationship between attendance at meetings and a higher opinion of local governments, this relationship does not appear in 1999. There is a slight relationship in the case of the scale of evaluation of local governments. Nor do community-based activism and participation in civil society organizations contribute to an explanation of opinions of local government performance. The most significant variables—which result from analysis of averages and a regression analysis—are support for the political system and interest in politics.



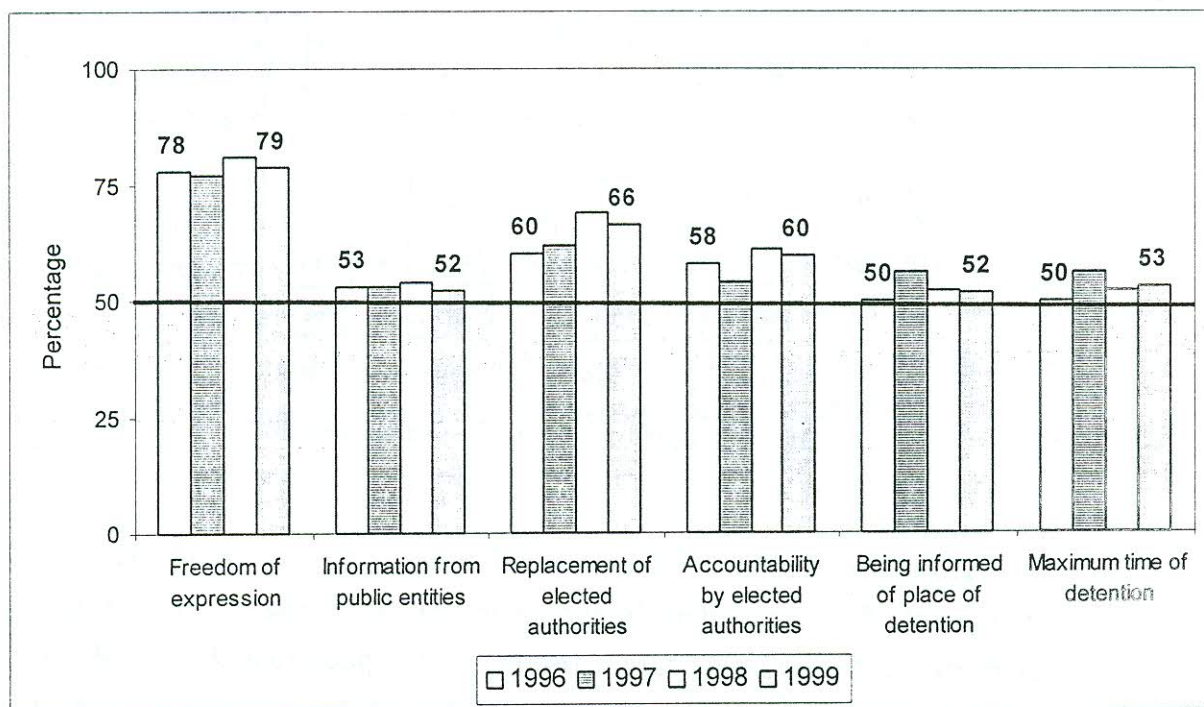
## 5. CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES

### 5.1. KNOWLEDGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

In the study, we find that nearly two-thirds of those surveyed knew their principal civil rights, although along with this knowledge of rights the idea persists that they are not respected in Peru.

Citizens' knowledge of constitutional rights is similar in all four years of the study. More than 50 percent of respondents know that these rights exist (Figure 5.1), with the best-known being the right to freedom of expression, which is mentioned by about 80 percent of those surveyed.

Figure 5.1  
Knowledge of rights. 1996 -1999  
(Percentage saying the right is included in the Constitution)



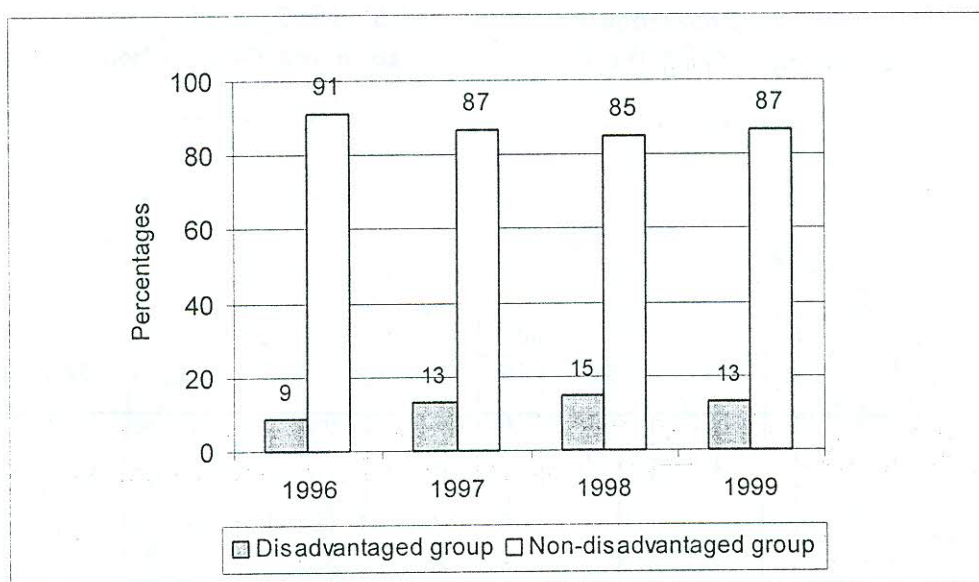
But these results are for the total population. What happens in groups that are vulnerable or excluded? The analysis of averages shows that those who have less education also have less knowledge of their rights. For several years, a special category called the "disadvantaged group" has been

defined. We will explain this before continuing with the analysis of information in this chapter.

### *The disadvantaged group*

This category was created on the basis of three socio-economic variables: education, socio-economic condition and native language. The disadvantaged group includes people of both sexes who have a primary education or less, and who also present some of the following characteristics: a) Their native language is Quechua or Aymara, or b) they are at the lowest socio-economic level. Figure 5.2 shows the proportion of the sample represented by the disadvantaged group. In 1999, it constituted 13 percent.

Figure 5.2  
Disadvantaged groups 1996-1999



It is interesting to look at the composition of the disadvantaged group (Table 5.1). According to our definition, everyone in this category has a primary education or less, and the majority speak Quechua or Aymara as their native language (57 percent) and are at the lowest socio-economic level (100 percent). The proportion of respondents belonging to the disadvantaged group is lower in urban areas, particularly in Lima. More than 23 percent say they are indigenous, compared to only 5.5 percent of the non-disadvantaged group. The percentage of women is greater than that of men. Participation in civil society organizations and community-based



activism is greater among people in the disadvantaged group. Finally, those who belong to this category have received less education about their rights.

**Table 5.1**  
**Socio-demographic characteristics of the disadvantaged group (1999)**

Characteristics	Disadvantaged group	Non-disadvantaged group	Total sample
Percentage with a primary education or less	100%	9.1%	21.1%
Percentage whose native language is not Spanish	57.1%	9.9%	16.2%
Percentage considering themselves indigenous	23.2%	5.5	7.5
Percentage at the lowest socio-economic level	100%	85.4%	87.3%
Percentage living in rural areas	85.3%	21.6%	30.0
Percentage lacking electricity and water	52.7%	7.9%	13.7
Percentage of women	57.1%	49.8%	50.8%
Percentage who have received education about their rights	28.6%	46.6%	44.3%

Unlike the national sample, where more than 50 percent of those surveyed knew their rights, in the disadvantaged group this percentage does not exceed 50 percent (Figure 5.3). During the four years of the study, in the disadvantaged group knowledge has only increased regarding the right to freedom of expression and replacement of authorities (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3  
National sample and disadvantaged group: Knowledge of rights (1996 -1999)

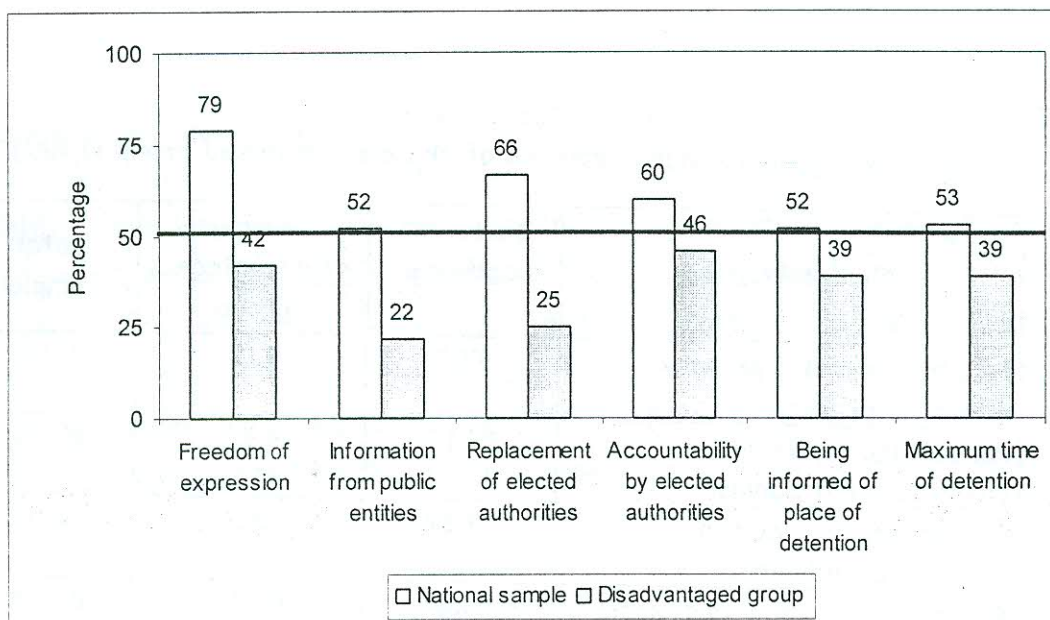
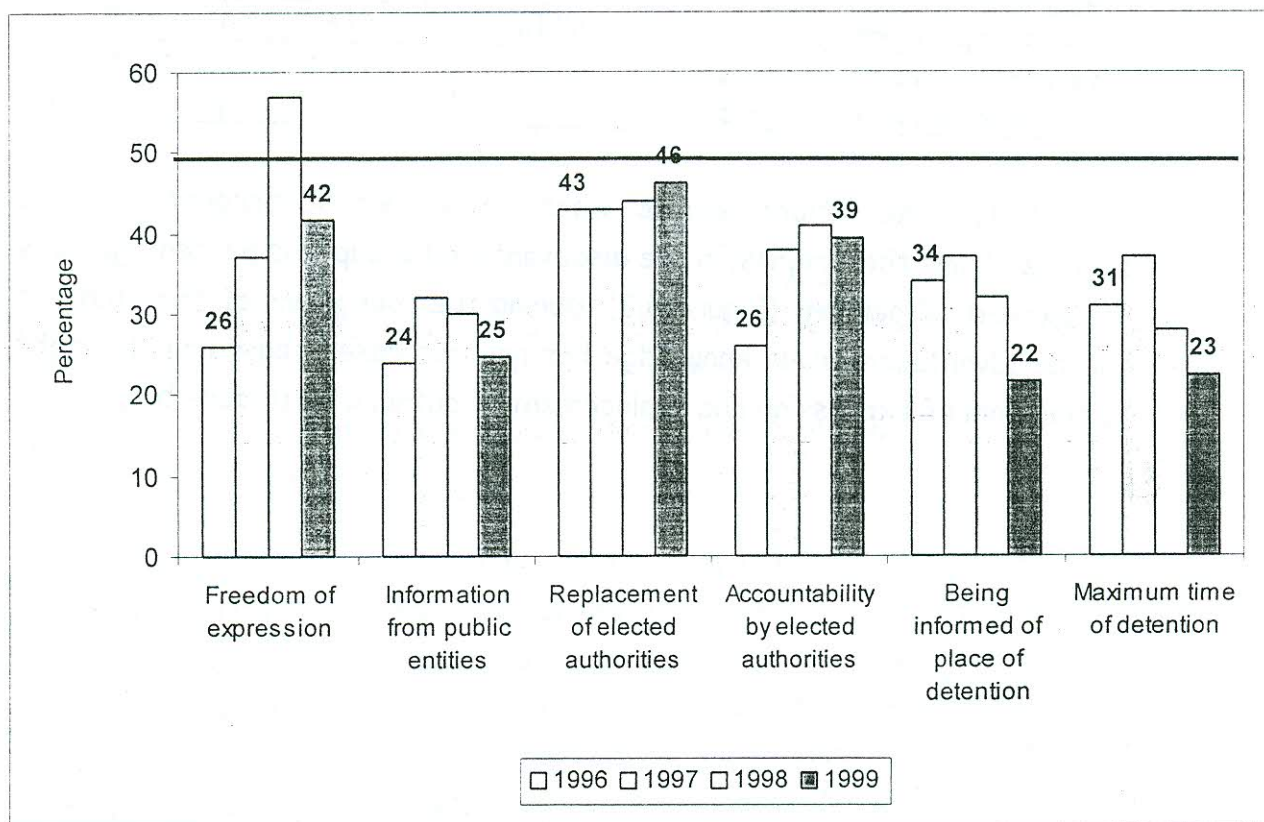


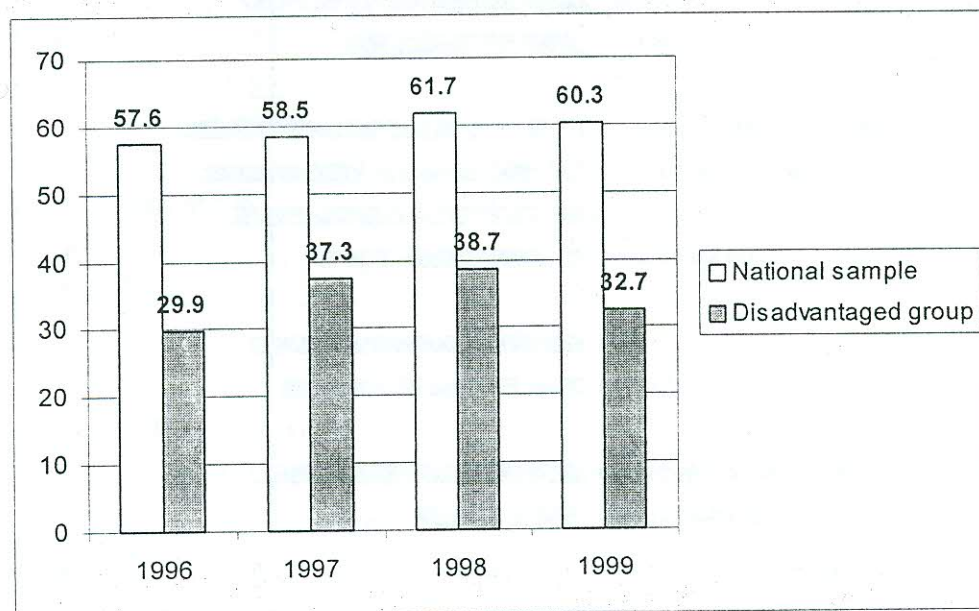
Figure 5.4  
Disadvantaged group: Knowledge of rights (1996 -1999)





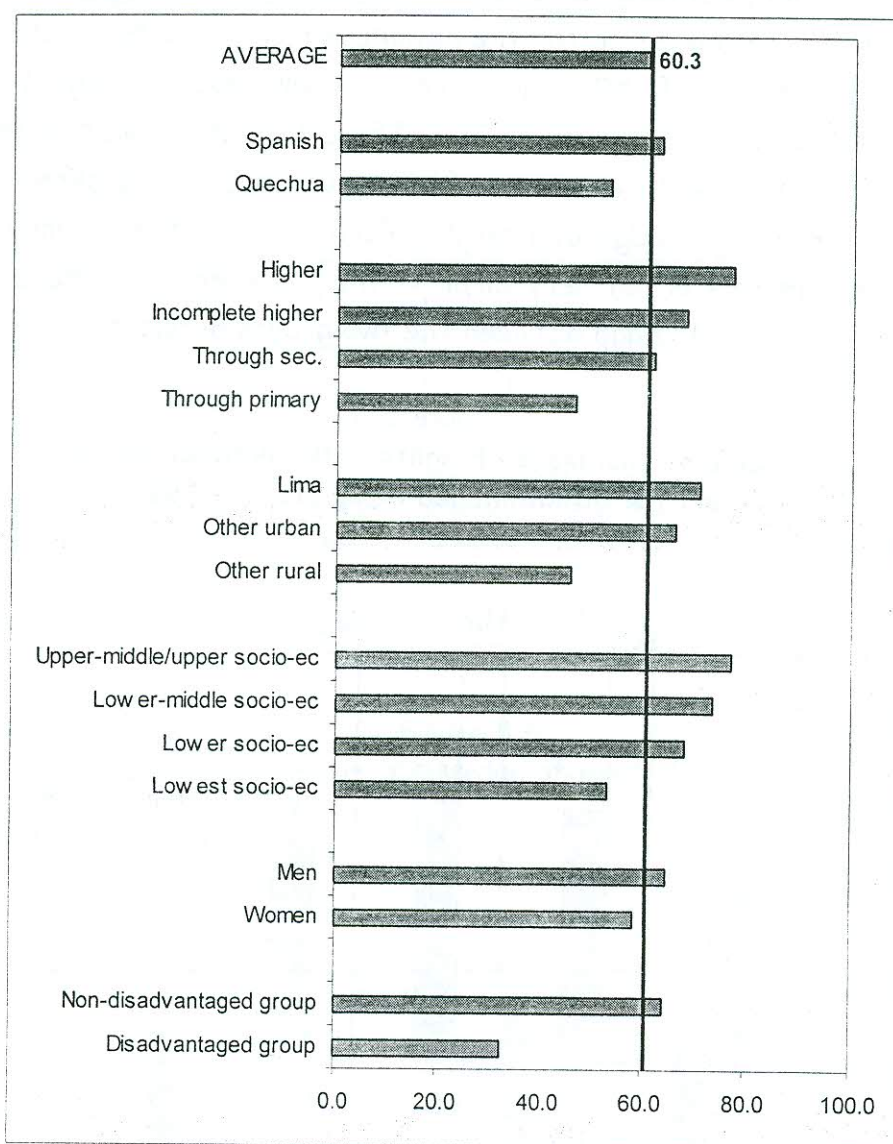
On the basis of the six rights mentioned in Figure 5.1 and the preceding graph, we designed a *scale of knowledge of rights* ranging from 0 to 100. The scale's average for the national sample in 1999 is 60.3 — above the median point of 50. The average knowledge of rights for the disadvantaged group, however, is 32.7. If we look at changes in the scale's averages during the three years of the study, we find a slight tendency toward greater knowledge of rights in Peru in the national sample (Figure 5.5), although this is not very clear in the disadvantaged group. What is noteworthy is that the gap between the two groups persists.

Figure 5.5  
Scale of knowledge of rights in the national sample  
and the disadvantaged group (1996 - 1999)



In the following section, we will examine how the averages on the scale of knowledge of rights vary according to different control groups (Figure 5.6). We see that the level of knowledge of rights increases with the respondent's educational level (this association is found in all years of the survey). Those who have a primary education, along with residents of rural areas, show the lowest level of knowledge of their rights. Those in a better socio-economic condition have a greater knowledge of their rights. This knowledge is also greater, on average, among men, respondents whose native language is Spanish, and those living in Lima. As can be expected, the disadvantaged group shows an average level of knowledge of rights substantially below that of the non-disadvantaged group.

Figure 5.6  
Knowledge of rights in various control groups (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100

The regression analysis (Table 5.2) confirms that greater knowledge of civil rights is related to a higher level of education, residence in urban areas, especially Lima, being male, not belonging to the disadvantaged group, having a greater level of information and having received education about civil rights. Meanwhile, socio-economic level, which did not appear to be a significant variable in the analysis of averages, shows an inverse relationship: the lower the socio-economic level, the lower the level of knowledge of rights.



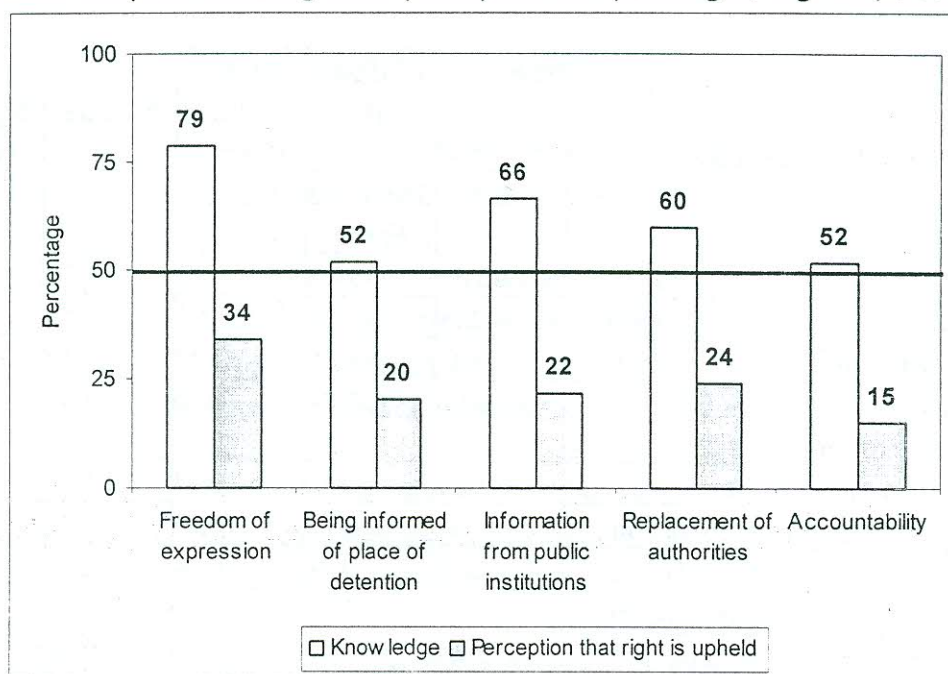
**Table 5.2**  
**Regression analysis of the scale of knowledge of rights (1999)**

Predictor variables	Non-standardized coefficient		Stan- dardized Coeff.	t value	Signifi- cance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Sex	5.82	1.38	0.10	4.23	0.00
Age	0.17	0.06	0.08	3.09	0.00
Native language	0.37	2.15	0.00	0.17	0.86
Number of years of education	0.84	0.24	0.12	3.48	0.00
Area of residence	5.18	1.10	0.13	4.72	0.00
Socio-economic condition	-0.13	0.73	-0.01	-0.18	0.86
Interest in public affairs	0.19	0.04	0.14	5.17	0.00
Scale of interest in politics	0.11	0.03	0.10	4.13	0.00
Has received training in human rights?	5.89	1.42	0.10	4.14	0.00
Disadvantaged group	9.65	2.97	0.10	3.25	0.00
Constant	5.11	4.00		1.28	0.20
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.179				

## 5.2. UPHOLDING OF RIGHTS

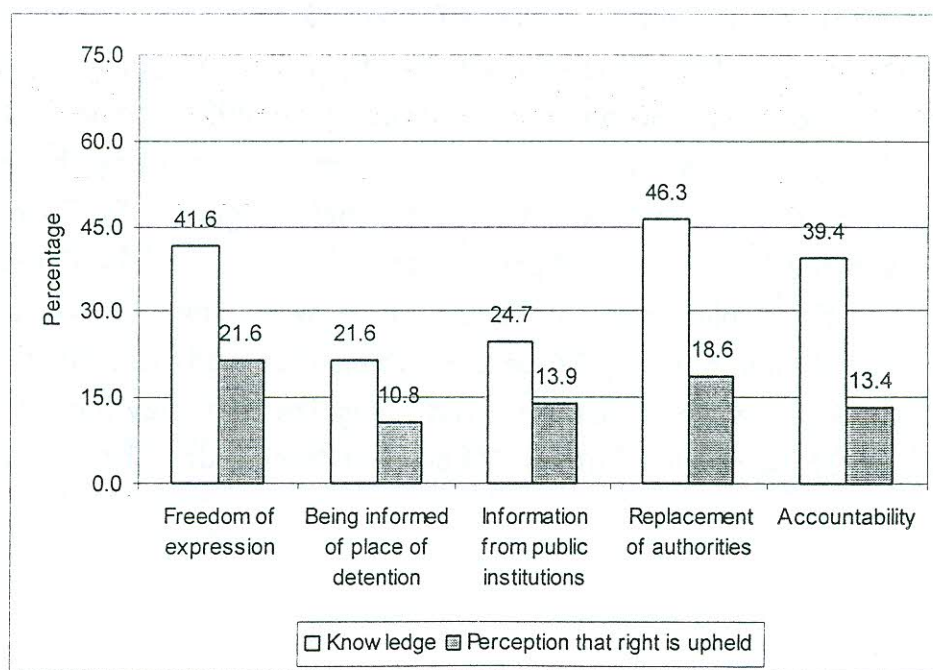
Over the past two years, we see an improvement in the perception of how well rights are upheld. On a scale of 0 to 100, this level rose from 20.95 in 1998 to 23.10 in 1999. It is still very low, however, and remains below the averages of more than 30 points registered in the 1996 and 1997 studies. There is a significant gap between citizens' awareness that they have rights and the perception of how well they are upheld (Figure 5.7). To cite two examples in the 1999 study: 60 percent say correctly that the Constitution guarantees the replacement of functionaries when they do not properly fulfill their duties, but only 24 percent think that right is upheld in Peru. Similarly, 79 percent of those surveyed recognize that they have the right to freedom of expression, but only 34 percent think that right is respected.

**Figure 5.7**  
National sample: Knowledge and perception of upholding of rights (1999)



The same gap between knowledge of rights and the perception of how well they are upheld appears in the disadvantaged group, although it is narrower than that seen in the national sample (Figure 5.8).

**Figure 5.8**  
Disadvantaged group: Knowledge and perception of upholding of rights (1999)





Beginning with the 1998 study, we included in the survey a question about knowledge of a right that is not contained in the Constitution, "the right to have the State provide jobs to people who need them." More than 60 percent of respondents said this right is in the Constitution; 61 percent said this right exists (this figure was 65 percent in 1998) and only 9 percent believe it is upheld. As in the 1998 study, we analyzed how the percentages of responses to this question vary according to control groups. We found that those more likely to respond that this fictitious right was contained in the Constitution had a higher educational and socio-economic level, lived in urban areas, especially Lima, spoke Spanish as a native language, and expressed greater interest in public affairs and politics. Apart from whether this notion is mistaken, these respondents may believe that rights they consider just should be supported by the Constitution.

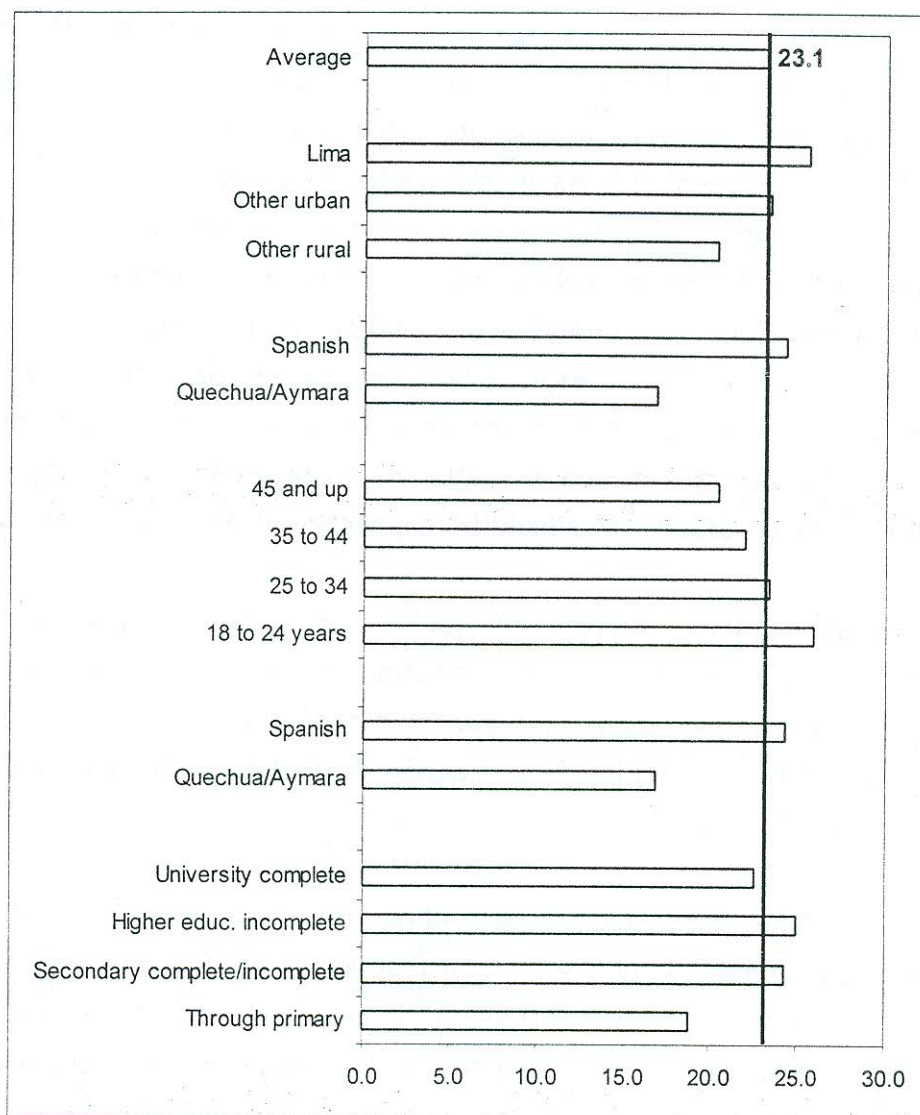
This shows that, beyond the question of a real knowledge of the rights contained in the Peruvian Constitution, citizens are aware that they have rights, and at the same time perceive that these are not respected. This is related to low levels of confidence in political institutions and the political system in general.

Contrasting the scale of upholding of rights with various socio-demographic (Figure 5.9) and socio-political variables (Figure 5.10), we find that the youngest respondents, those with the least education, those living in rural areas and those who belong to low socio-economic sectors are more likely to believe that basic rights are protected in Peru. Similarly, those who have less interest in public affairs and politics, show greater support for the system<sup>17</sup>, belong to the disadvantaged group and have not received education in their rights have a more positive opinion of how well these rights are upheld.

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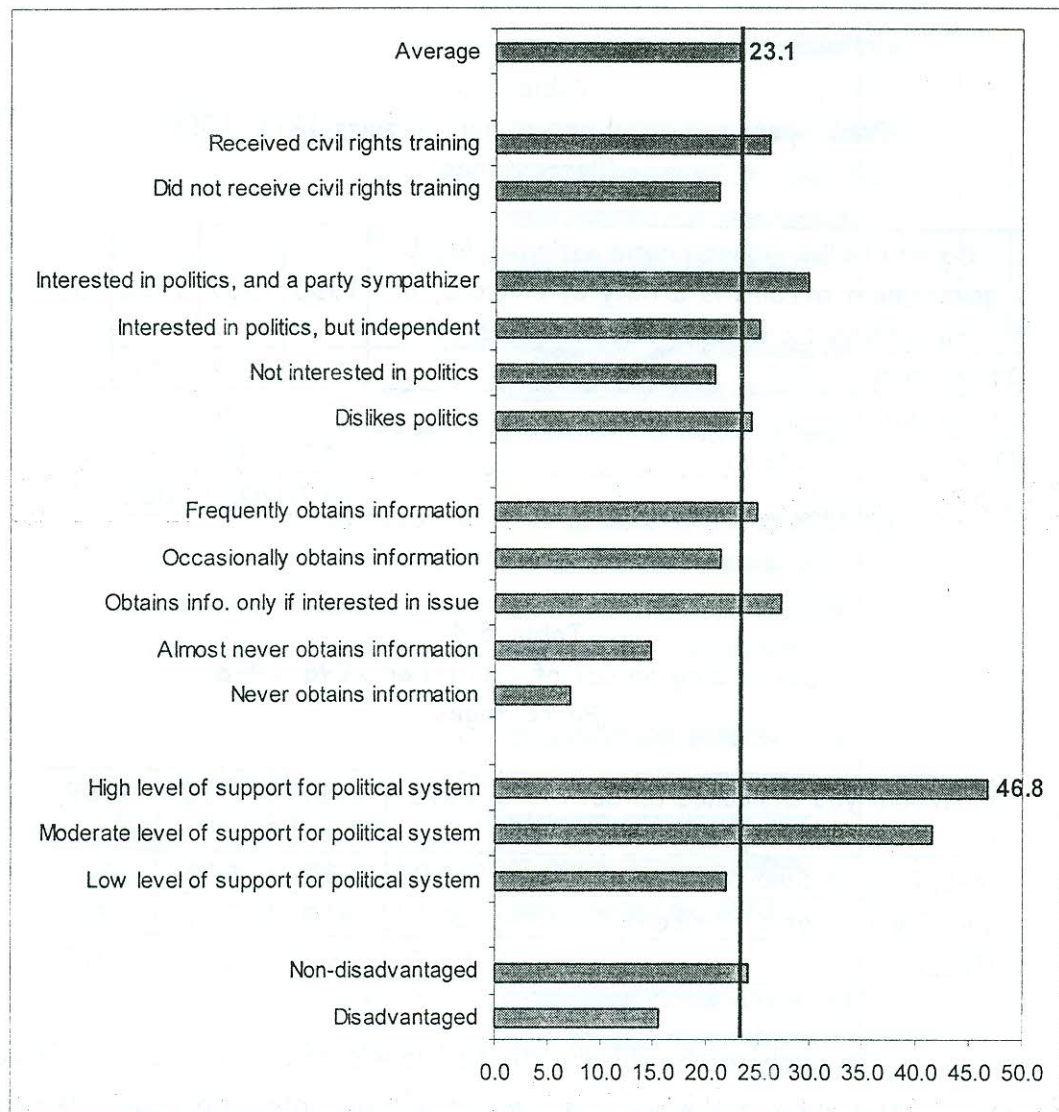
<sup>17</sup> It is worth noting that only 3 percent of the sample show a high level of support for the system, and 10 percent show moderate support.

**Figure 5.9**  
**Upholding of rights, according to socio-demographic variables (1999)**





**Figure 5.10**  
**Upholding of rights, according to various socio-political variables (1999)**



Range of scale: 0 to 100

### 5.3. ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITIES

As in the case of knowledge of rights, there is broad variation in citizens' attitudes toward specific duties about which they were asked. The majority, 49 percent, said that participating in local government affairs is a duty. It is worth noting that this percentage has been decreasing throughout the years of the study (Table 5.3). A significant majority (65 percent) also said they would vote in elections even if this were not obligatory. More than half the population (59 percent) would refuse to pay a bribe to speed up administrative paperwork, and the remaining 41 percent would do it only "if it were necessary." Of the respondents, 70.1 percent

would be willing to denounce an act of corruption, a percentage that has remained steady throughout the four years of the study (Table 5.4)

**Table 5.3**  
Participation in local government affairs 1996-1999  
(Percentages)

Do you believe that participating in local government affairs is a duty of citizens, or something to do only if it interests us?	1996	1997	1998	1999
It is a duty	74.5	73.9	69.4	49.0
It is a duty and a right	10.7	11.5	15.6	37.5
Only if it interests us	14.8	14.6	15.0	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 5.4**  
Denouncing an act of corruption 1996-1998  
(Percentages)

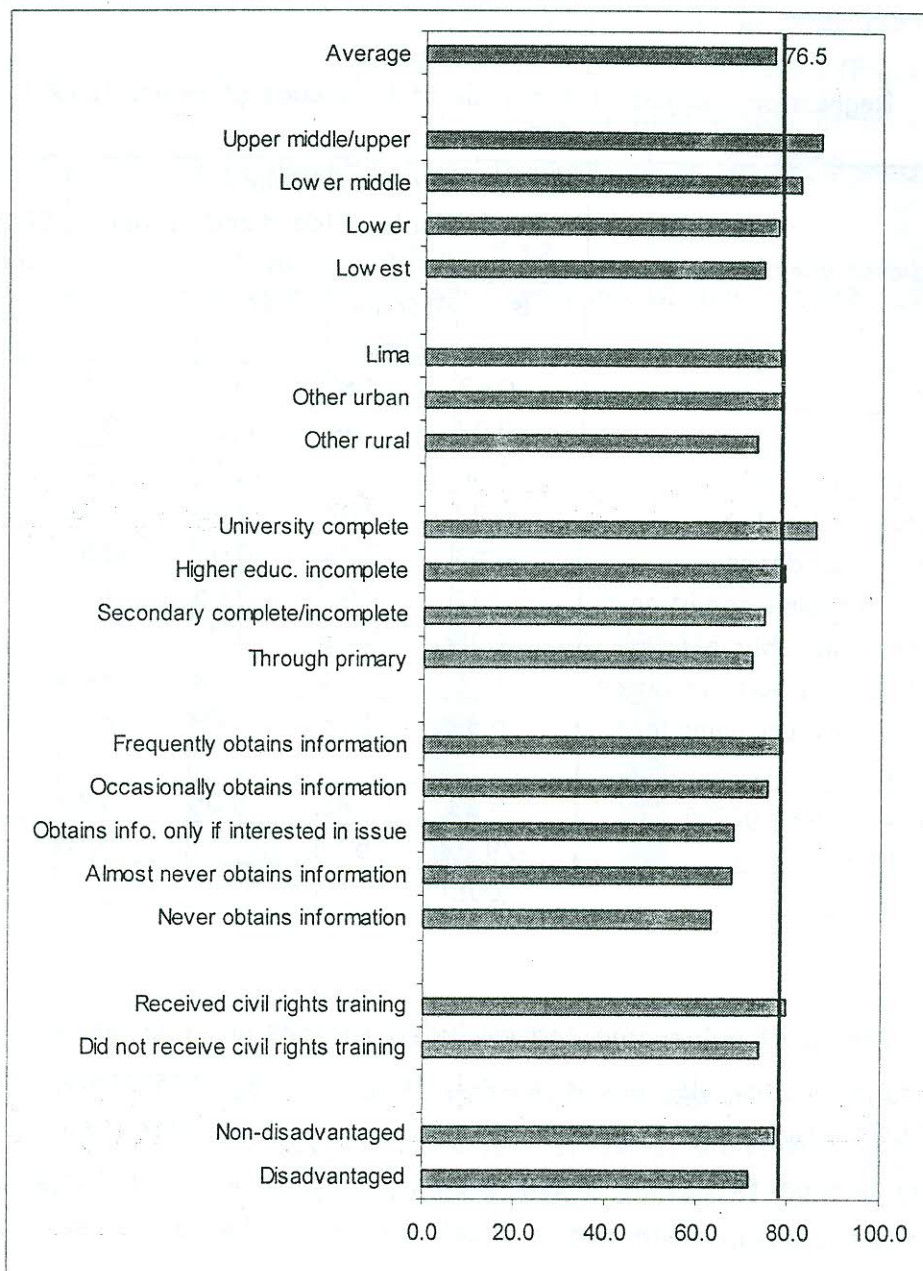
Would you denounce an act of corruption?	1996	1997	1998	1999
Yes, I would denounce it	67,9	68,3	67,9	70.1
No, I would not denounce it	32,1	31,7	32,1	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

To analyze the distribution of levels of acceptance of citizens' responsibilities among the various groups of the population, we created a scale of acceptance of responsibilities<sup>18</sup>. In the four years of the study, the average total for the sample is above the median point of the scale (Figure 5.11).

<sup>18</sup> This index was built on the basis of the two questions that have been included in the three surveys: the first asks respondents if they believe that participating in local government affairs is a duty (and also a right); the second examines their attitudes toward an act of corruption.



**Figure 5.11**  
**Knowledge of responsibilities in various control populations**



Range of scale: 0 to 100

Fulfillment of responsibilities is associated with a higher level of education, higher socio-economic level and residence in urban areas. Those who belong to the disadvantaged group show a lower average knowledge of responsibilities, as do those who have not received training in civil rights and do not frequently follow national current events. The regression analysis (Table 5.5) confirms, to a great degree, what we found in the analysis of

averages. Education, along with interest in public affairs and politics, are the variables that most influence knowledge of civic responsibilities.

**Table 5.5**  
Regression analysis of the scale of knowledge of rights (1999)

Predictor variables	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized Coeff.	t value	Significance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Sex	0.53	1.81	0.01	0.30	0.77
Age	0.02	1.44	0.00	0.01	0.99
Native language	1.40	0.32	0.17	4.37	0.00
Years of education	0.22	0.07	0.08	2.92	0.00
Area of residence	-1.53	2.86	-0.02	-0.53	0.59
Socio-economic condition	-1.17	0.96	-0.05	-1.22	0.22
Interest in public affairs	0.18	0.05	0.11	3.73	0.00
Scale of interest in politics	0.16	0.04	0.12	4.45	0.00
Has received training in human rights?	5.89	1.88	0.09	3.14	0.00
Disadvantaged group	5.63	3.85	0.05	1.46	0.14
Constant	-79.10	5.17		-15.30	0.00
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.095				

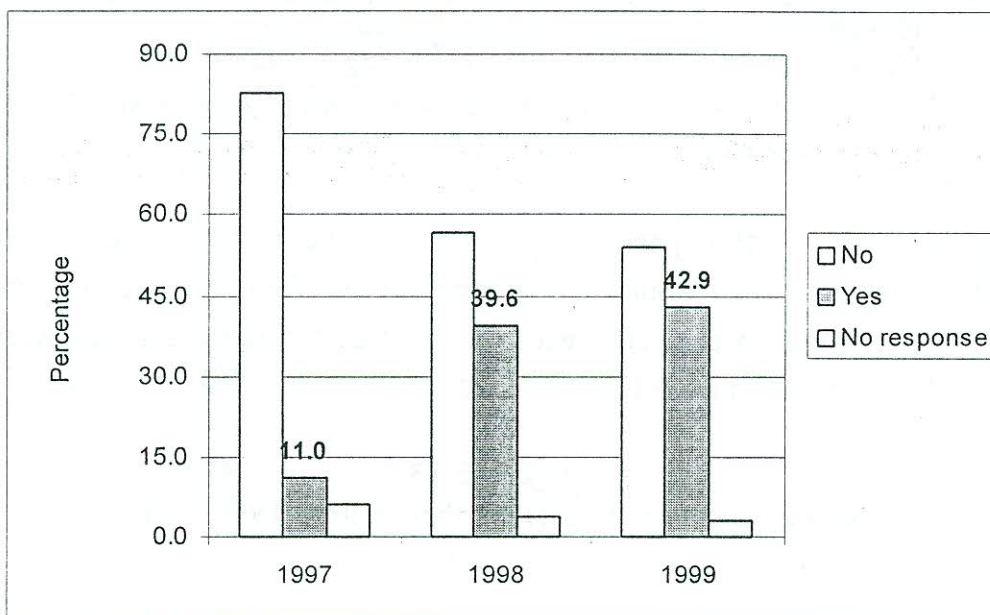
The most vulnerable and excluded sectors not only know less about their rights, they also are less likely to fulfill their responsibilities. As in the 1998 study, we found that besides education, attention to national affairs and participation in educational programs about civil rights play an important part in determining levels of knowledge of these rights and fulfillment of civic responsibilities.



### *Civil rights education*

This has been an important variable in greater knowledge of rights and responsibilities. There has been an increase in the number of respondents who say they have received courses in civil rights (Figure 5.12). The majority received such training in grade or high school, or an institute of higher education (22 and 19 percent respectively in the 1999 study).

Figure 5.12  
Citizens who have received training courses in civil rights (1997- 1999)



### 5.4. KNOWLEDGE OF WHERE TO GO TO PROTECT ONE'S RIGHTS

To address the issue of whether citizens know where to go to protect their rights, the questionnaire poses a hypothetical situation of mistreatment by a public functionary, and respondents are asked specifically: a) if they know to what institution they should go to complain; b) what type of mistreatment (physical mistreatment or poor attention) they thought of when the hypothetical situation of aggression by a functionary was posed; and c) if they really would complain.

The majority of those interviewed chose to denounce the mistreatment at the police station or district attorney's office. A smaller percentage chose the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office or a human rights organization (Table 5.6).

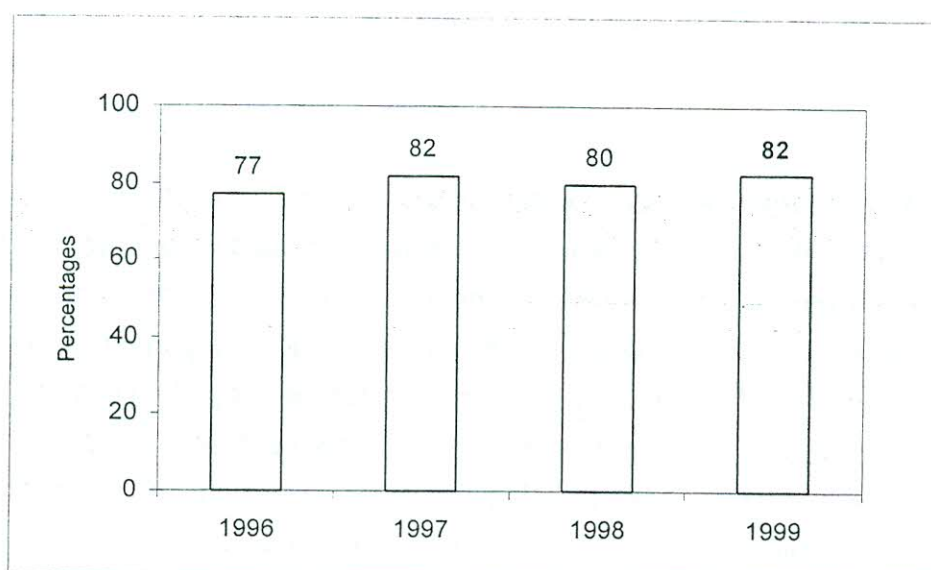
Table 5.6  
Place where respondent would go to complain about  
Mistreatment by a public functionary  
1996 - 1999 (Percentages)

Place where they would go	1996	1997	1998	1999
Police station	35,3	34,7	33,1	32,3
District attorney	34,8	28,0	28,6	19,9
Human Rights Ombudsman's Office	12,1	19,5	12,4	12,8
Human rights organization	7,3	7,8	7,9	4,5
Other*	10,5	10,0	18,0	12,8
Base <sup>19</sup>	(1136)	(1221)	(1424)	(1442)

\* The category "other" includes the local government office, a private lawyer or the functionary's superior, among others.

Looking at the percentage of respondents who mentioned an institution where they would go to complain, we find that 82 percent do know where to go. In previous years of the study, this percentage was also about 80 percent (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13  
Know where to go to protect their rights 1996 - 1999

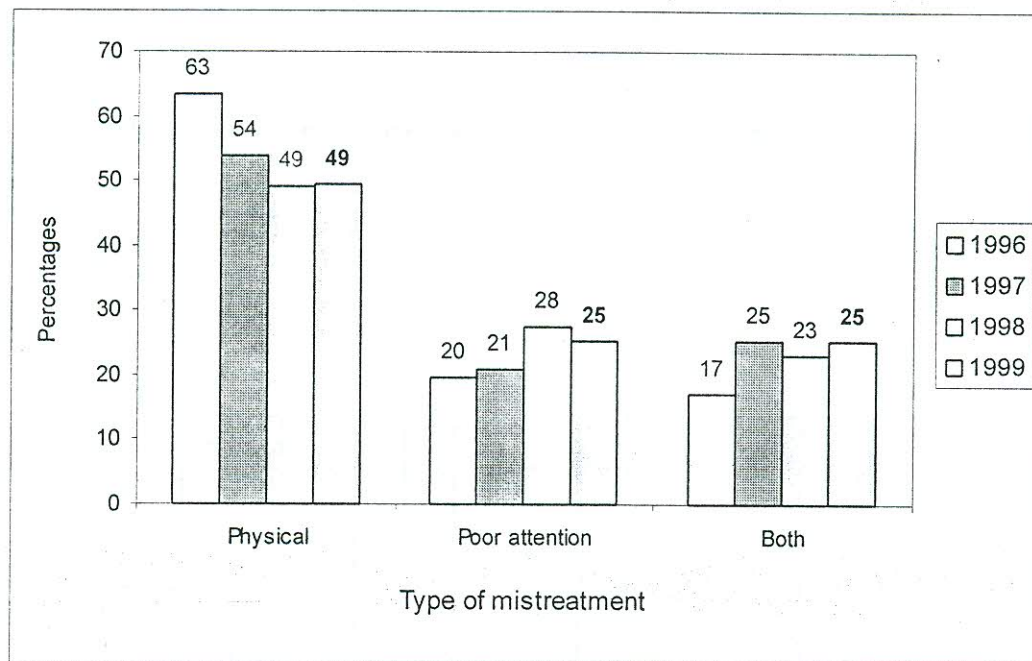


<sup>19</sup> The base does not equal the sum of the totals of the sample because it does not include those who said they did not know where to go to complain in case of mistreatment by a public functionary.



With regard to the type of mistreatment that the respondent visualized, the greatest percentage thought of physical mistreatment. Between 1996 and 1999, we find that the percentage of those who said they "thought of physical mistreatment" decreased from 63 to 49 percent, while the percentage of those who said they thought of "poor attention" increased from 20 to 25 percent. The percentage of those who mentioned "both" increased during the same period from 17 to 25 percent (Figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14  
Percentage of citizens, according to type of mistreatment visualized  
(1996- 1999)



Finally, with regard to whether people really would complain, 87 percent would be willing to complain if they were victims of some kind of mistreatment by a public functionary. This figure was 84 percent in 1998. Ten percent of respondents would not complain, because they believe no one would pay attention to them.

The issue of civil rights is important, not only for the defense of the individual against abuses of which he or she may be a victim, but because it is an important key to gauging greater citizen awareness and becomes a necessary element for critical analysis of the country's social and political

situation. We must remember that the perception of how well rights are upheld is influenced by preference for a political regime. Those who believe an authoritarian government is sometimes preferable register a level of 31.1 on the scale of upholding of rights, while those who always prefer a democratic government only register an average of 23.4 on that scale.

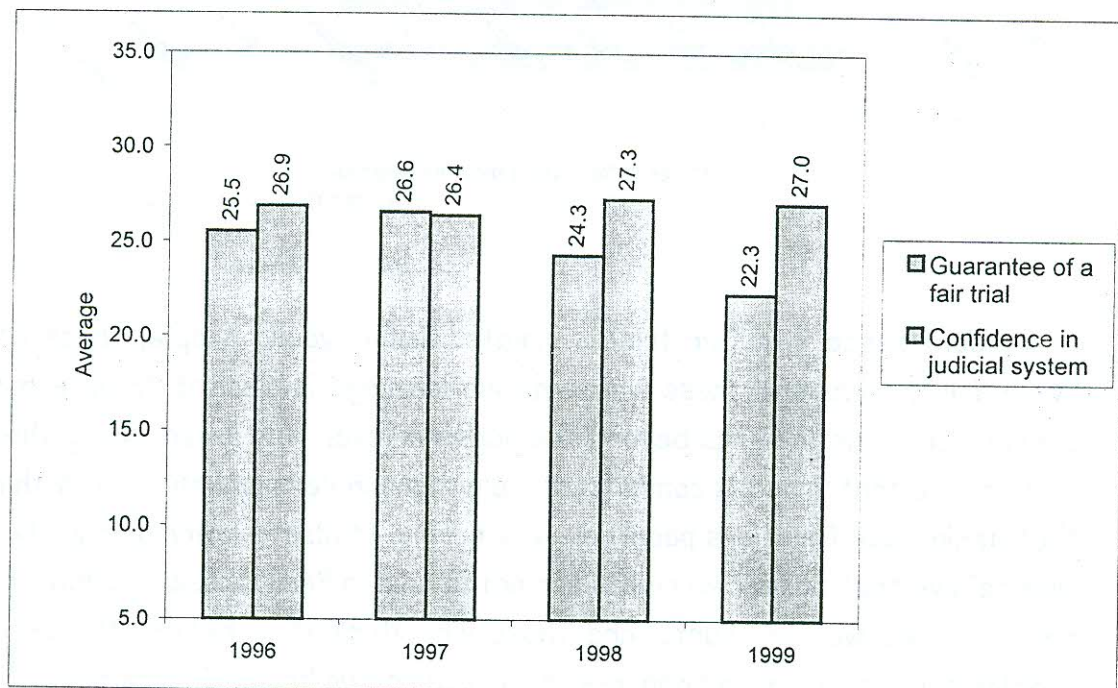


## 6. ACCESS TO JUSTICE

### 6.1. CONFIDENCE THAT PERUVIAN COURTS GUARANTEE A FREE TRIAL

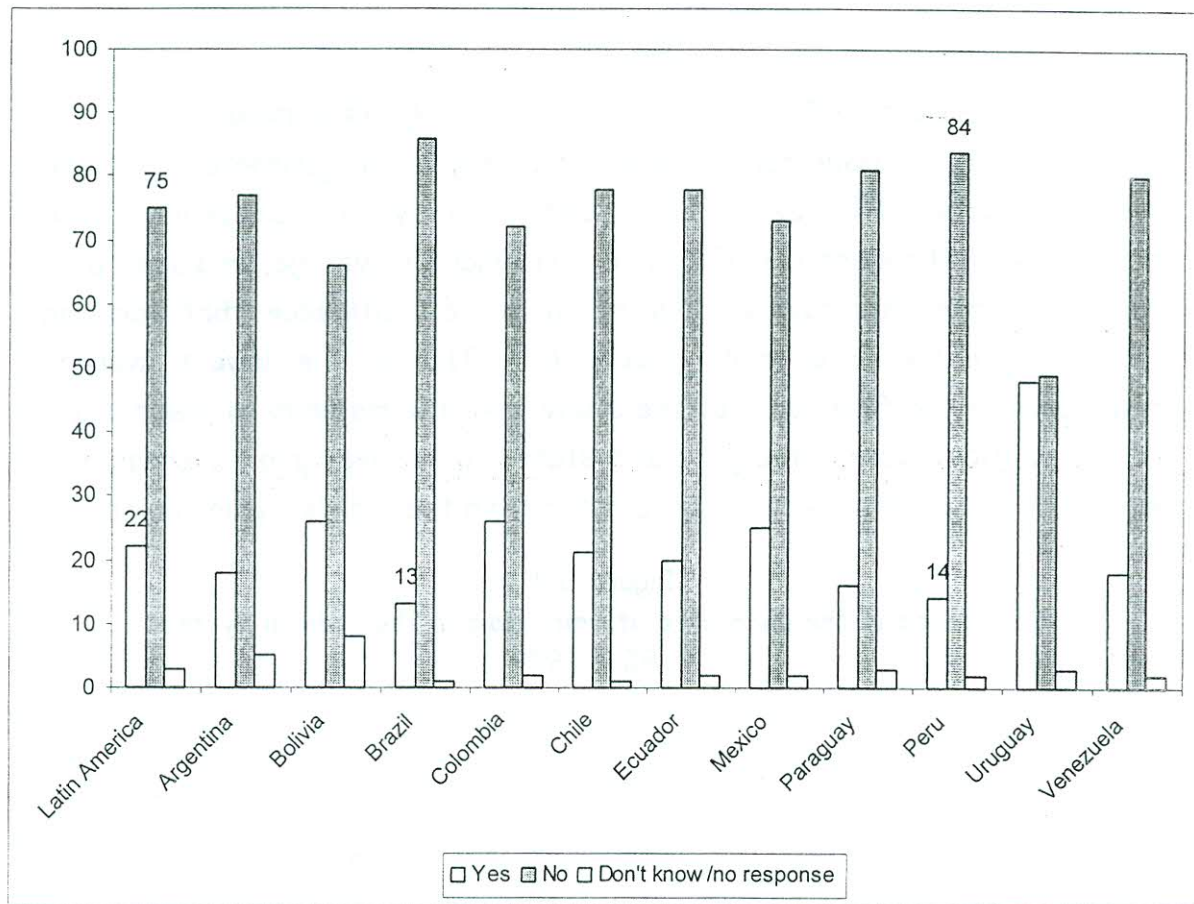
One crucial issue for a stable democracy is the guarantee that the system treats all citizens fairly. Unfortunately, in our country the perception of the existence of justice is minimal. On average, on a scale of 0 to 100, respondents gave a 22-point rating to confidence that Peruvian courts guarantee free trials (Figure 6.1). This is the lowest average registered in the four years of the study. Like the majority of institutions of the political system, the judicial system also receives a low average, not much below that of previous years but far from the scale's median point.

Figure 6.1  
Confidence in the guarantee of fair trials in the judicial system  
1996 - 1999



In Latin America, Peru and Brazil not only have the lowest average levels of confidence in the judicial system, as we saw in Chapter 3, they also are countries where almost no one (14 percent in Peru and 13 percent in Brazil) believes there is equality before the law (Figure 6.2).

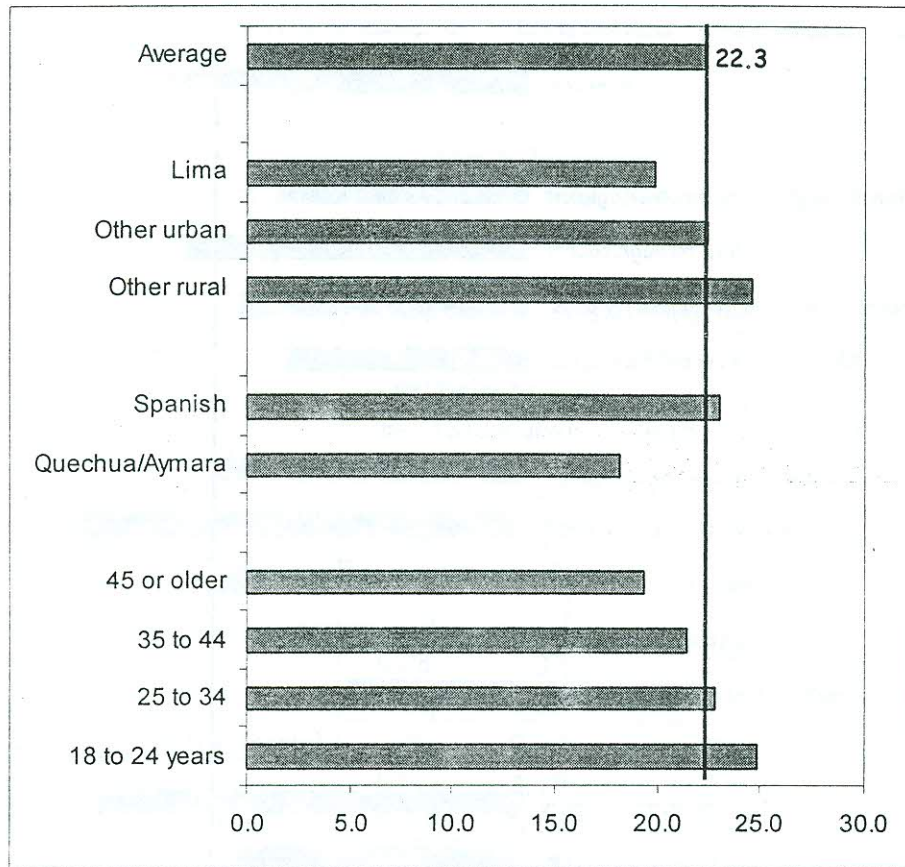
Figure 6.2  
Latin America: Would you say that in your country there is equality  
before the law? (Latinobarómetro 1998)



Confidence in a fair trial is greater among young people, those who live in rural areas and those whose native language is Spanish (Figure 6.3). Confidence in justice goes beyond the personal level; it is lower among those who believe that fraud is committed in elections in Peru and those who think that democracy functions poorly or very poorly. It also is lower among those who believe that basic civil rights are not upheld in Peru, those who have not been treated well in courts, and those who think it is better to resolve problems like robbery and aggression with their own hands (Figure 6.4).

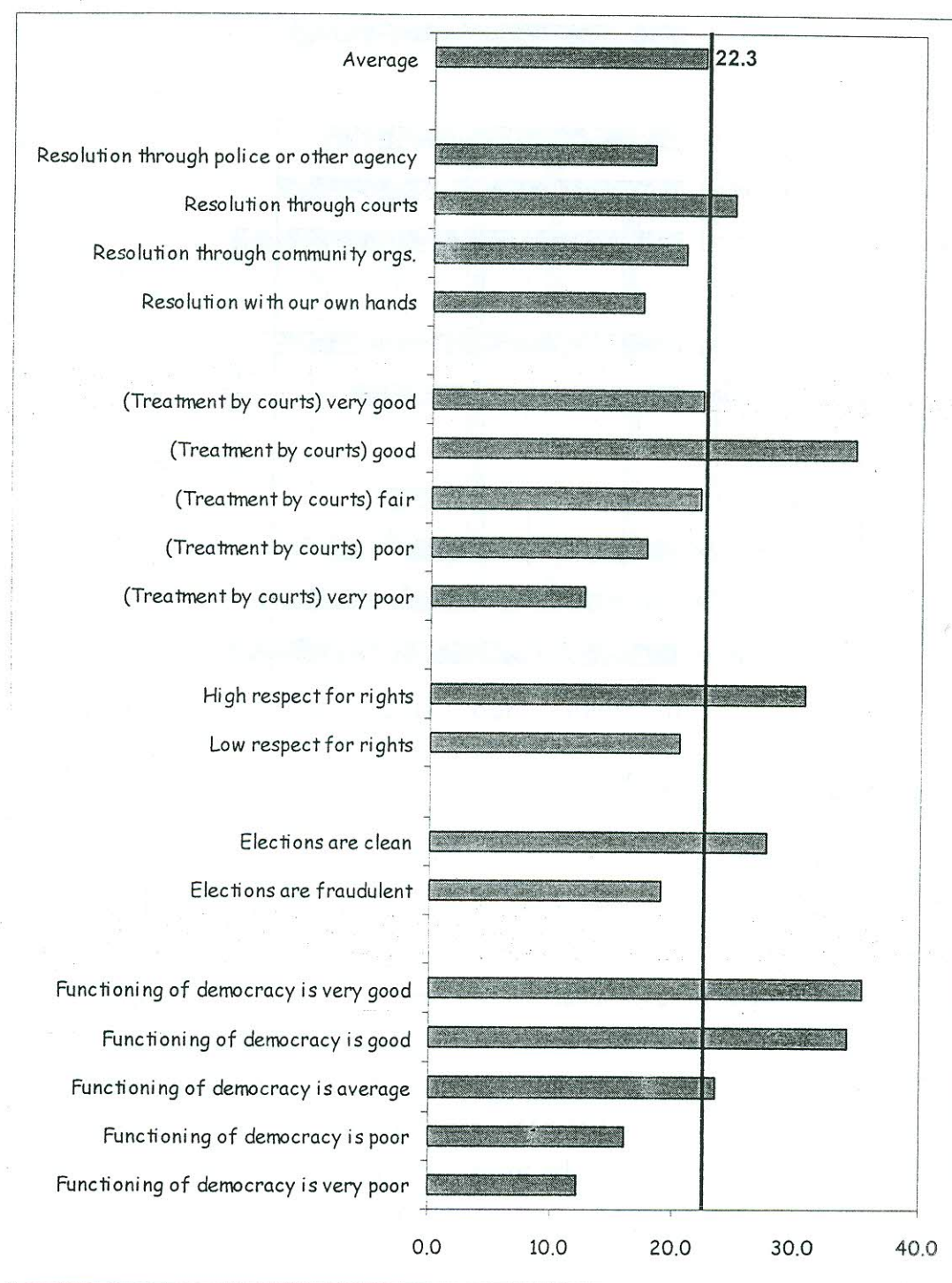


Figure 6.3  
Confidence that Peruvian courts guarantee a fair trial,  
according to socio-demographic variables (1999)



Range of scale: 0 to 100

**Figure 6.4**  
**Confidence that Peruvian courts guarantee a fair trial,**  
**according to social and political variables (1999)**



Range of scale: 0 to 100

If we do a regression analysis to determine which control variables play a greater part in determining confidence in fair trials, we find that all



socio-demographic variables lose their significance. Other variables explain greater confidence in the guarantee of a fair trial in Peru: treatment received in courts, perception of how well democracy functions, lack of belief that elections are clean, and confidence that basic rights are protected.

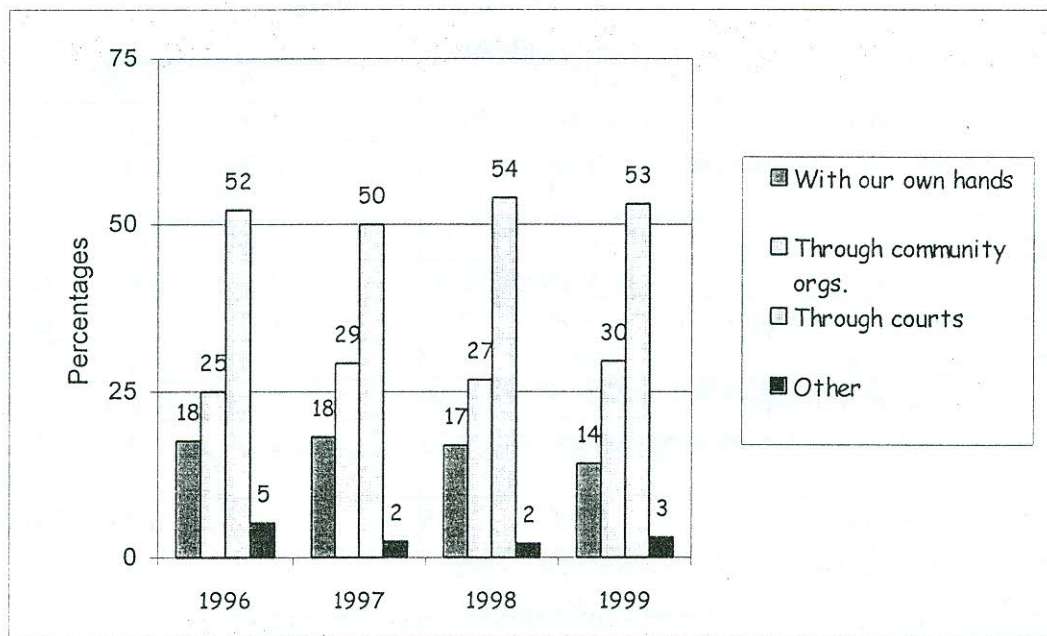
Table 6.1  
Regression analysis of confidence in a fair trial, by various control variables and access to justice

Predictor Variables	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coeff.	t value	Significance
	B	Standard Error	Beta		
Sex	-0.52	1.72	-0.01	-0.30	0.76
Area of residence	-2.35	1.46	-0.07	-1.61	0.11
Years of education successfully completed	0.01	0.27	0.00	0.05	0.96
Age	-0.08	0.07	-0.04	-1.11	0.27
Native language	1.15	2.57	0.02	0.45	0.65
Socio-economic condition (scale)	-0.18	0.92	-0.01	-0.19	0.85
Treatment in courts	5.02	1.02	0.19	4.90	0.00
Scale of respect for rights	1.30	0.65	0.08	2.00	0.05
How does democracy function in Peru?	4.27	1.23	0.14	3.47	0.00
Do you believe elections are clean or fraudulent?	5.93	1.95	0.12	3.04	0.00
(Constant)	-14.85	6.17		-2.41	0.02
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.113				

### *Peruvians and the system of administration of justice*

Another way of examining real levels of confidence and ease of access to the legal system is to look at whether, in the case of robbery or aggression, people are willing to take their case to a formal agency of the judicial system. In all years of the study, we find that slightly more than 55 percent of respondents choose the option of going to the courts or police. However a worrisome proportion of about 15 percent would choose to resolve these problems with their own hands (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5  
Best way to resolve problems such as robbery or aggression  
(1996-1999)

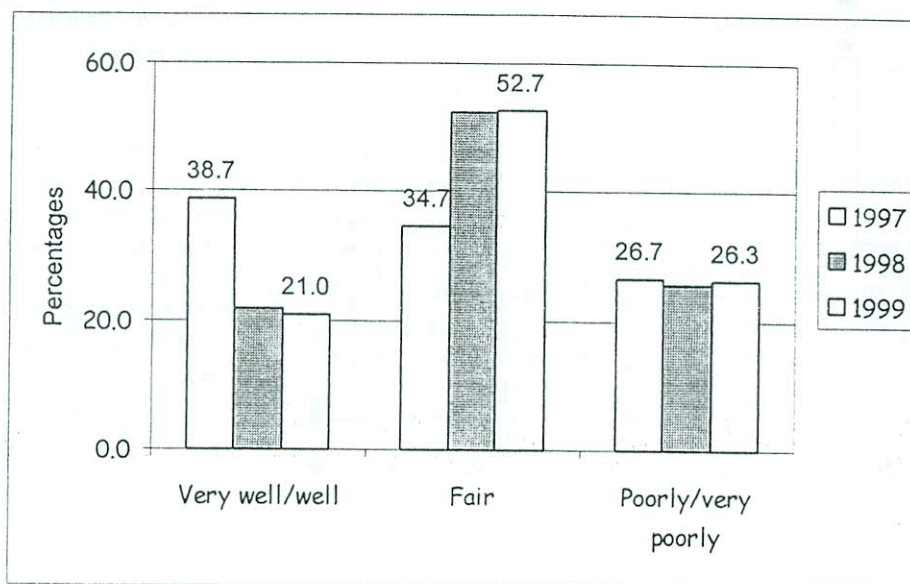


About half the population surveyed said they had gone to the courts to deal with some matter (50.3 and 48.9 percent in 1998 and 1999, respectively). In 1999, 53 percent said the treatment they received was average, while 26 percent said it was very poor or poor (Figure 6.6). It is interesting to note how the perception of very good or good treatment registered in the 1997 study has decreased. It must be pointed out that in that year, only 25.9 percent of respondents said they had dealt with some matter in court.



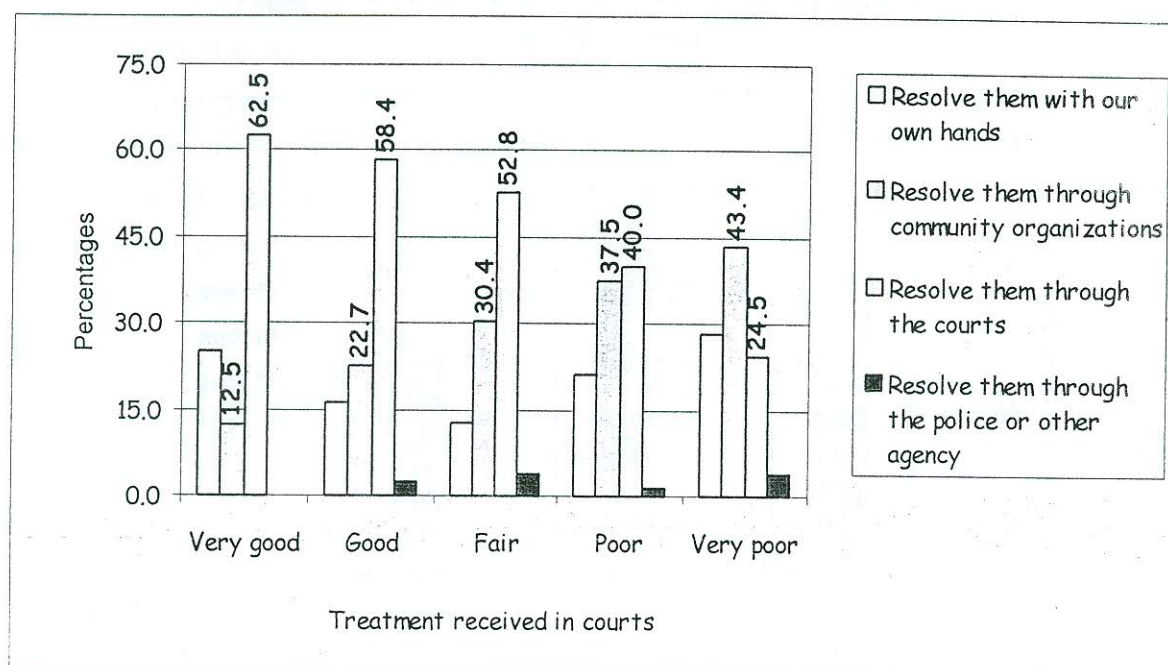
Figure 6.6

In general, when you have to or have had to deal with a problem in court,  
how have judges and court employees treated you?  
(1997 -1999)



As we have seen, the treatment received in court has a great influence on the level of confidence that Peruvian courts guarantee a free trial, as well as confidence in the judicial system as an institution of the political system. It also influences the way Peruvians believe their problems, such as robbery and aggression, would best be resolved. As Figure 6.7 shows, the better the treatment in court, the greater the percentage of people who would resolve problems like robbery or aggression through the courts. As the perception of treatment worsens, there is an increase in the proportion of people who would resolve their problems through community organizations.

Figure 6.7  
Best way to resolve problems, according to treatment received in courts (1999)



One novel alternative being implemented in some areas of the country is extrajudicial conciliation, through which institutions or individuals, with the consent of the parties involved, administer justice to resolve disputes. This mechanism was approved in November 1997 and took effect in January 1998, but at the time the surveys were done (both in 1998 and 1999) it was not obligatory. Table 6.2 shows an increase in the percentage of those who have heard of extrajudicial conciliation and those who know what kinds of problems can be resolved through this mechanism.

Table 6.2  
Knowledge of the existence and meaning of extrajudicial conciliation

Knowledge of extrajudicial conciliation	1998		1999	
	Cases	%	Cases	%
Have not heard of extrajudicial conciliation	1142	64.0	853	48.7
Useful for resolving criminal problems	34	1.9	72	4.1
Useful for resolving criminal or civil problems	106	5.9	135	7.7
Useful for resolving civil problems	122	6.8	160	9.1
Don't know/no response	380	21.3	531	30.3
Total	1404	78.7	1220	69.7
	(1784)	100.0	(1751)	100



In the past year there also has been a slight increase in the number of people who would make use of this mechanism. Between 1998 and 1999 this number rose from 10 to 16 percent of the total population sample, and from 78 to 82 percent in the population that had heard of extrajudicial conciliation.

Table 6.3  
Population that would use extrajudicial conciliation (1998-1999)

Would you use extrajudicial conciliation?	1998			1999		
	Cases	Percentage of total population	Percentage of pop. that has heard of extrajud. conciliation	Cases	Percentage of total population	Percentage of pop. that has heard of extrajud. conciliation
Yes	181	10.1	78.4	279	15.9	81.6
No	50	2.8	21.6	63	3.6	18.4
Total	231	12.9	100.0	342	19.5	100.0
Don't know/no response	31	1.7		25	1.4	
Have not heard of extrajudicial conciliation	1522	85.3		1384	79.0	
Total	1553	87.1		1409	80.5	
	1784	100.0		1751	100.0	

## 6.2. PUBLIC SAFETY

Beginning in 1998, a series of questions related to problems of robbery or aggression was included in the survey. The results are similar in both years of the study (1998 and 1999). About one-third of the respondents, or their relatives, had been victims of robbery or aggression (Table 6.4). The incidence is greater among those who live in Lima, and have more education and a better socio-economic condition (Table 6.5)

Table 6.4  
Incidence of delinquency in Peru (1998-1999)

In the past 12 months, have you or your family been victims of robbery or aggression?	1998	1999
Yes	29.4	27.9
No	70.6	72.1

Table 6.5  
Incidence of delinquency in Peru (1998-1999)

Socio-demographic characteristics	In the past 12 months, have you or your family been victims of robbery or aggression?			
	Peru		Lima	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Total	27.9	72.1	40.1	59.9
Area of Residence				
Other rural	22.5	77.5		
Other urban	23.3	76.7		
Lima	40.1	59.9		
Educational Groups				
Through primary	20.2	79.8	19.6	80.4
Secondary inc./comp.	26.5	73.5	38.0	62.0
Higher education incomplete	30.8	69.2	40.4	59.6
University complete	39.9	60.1	57.1	42.9
Socio-economic Level				
Lowest	24.6	75.4	31.7	68.3
Lower	28.4	71.6	42.8	57.2
Lower middle	32.7	67.3	44.7	55.3
Upper middle / upper	57.9	42.1	58.5	41.5



Although the incidence of robbery or aggression is high, not all victims filed formal complaints. In 1999, 29 percent of victims did not file complaints about the aggression. The percentage is higher than in 1998, but this may be because the question was phrased differently in 1998, as shown in Table 6.6

Table 6.6  
Incidence of delinquency in Peru (1998-1999)

1998		1999	
If you have been a victim of robbery or aggression, did you file a complaint or inform the police or serenazgo (municipal security force)?	Percentage	If you have been a victim of robbery or aggression, with what institution did you file a complaint?	Percentage
Did not inform	40.2	Did not file a complaint	28.8
Police	55.6	Police / Serenazgo	64.5
Serenazgo	4.2	Ronda (rural community security patrol)/ Governor/Justice of the Peace	4.2
		Judicial System / Prefect's Office	2.3
		Press	0.2
Total	100.0	Total	100.0
	518		479

## 7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the principal problems observed during this past year is that the population still has not found channels for participation in the public arena that allow it to play an influential role in the national scene. Recent events connected with the elections showed a sector of society that wants to be heard, spontaneously taking to the streets to cast a "ballot of protest" against what was considered to be electoral fraud. Organizations made their presence felt, but failed to gather together the larger mass of the population. How can civil society propose alternatives unless there is a group to serve as intermediary? What can be done when political parties no longer provide this channel for communication and dialogue between society and the State?

### *Community civil society organizations and democracy*

For a long time, it was believed that grassroots civil society organizations were the seed of the country's democratic future. Even USAID/Peru's strategic objective — "To achieve greater citizen participation in democratic processes" — was based on greater participation in community organizations and activities. Throughout this study, however, we have seen that there is no positive relationship — in the sense of a statistical relationship, not a value judgment — between community participation and consolidation of democracy in the country. Moreover, many community organizations, among them women's groups, unfortunately, are dependent on the Executive Branch, with which they develop a relationship of clientelism. This does not mean that participation in community organizations and activities should be discounted, because they involve the most vulnerable and excluded sectors of society. It does indicate, however, that this cannot be the principal objective of a strategy aimed at strengthening democracy in the country.

### *Political participation and defense of civil rights and democratic values*

The scant participation in political organizations that go beyond attention to basic needs and community improvements is a point that



weakens citizenship. So what is the alternative? There is not a single formula, but it is important to note that one of the elements that strengthens citizenship is being subject to rights. This variable has been key throughout the recent electoral process — as we discuss in the Appendix on elections — and in the study we have seen that citizens who demand — passively, it is true, but the mere fact that they say that rights are not upheld in Peru is a starting point — the guarantee of civil rights and fair trials are critical of the system, but are also the ones who openly proclaim themselves to be in favor of democracy in the country. The reinforcement of institutions such as the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office and private institutions that promote dissemination of information about civil rights is a task that cannot be set aside, since it is one of the ways of counteracting what we have called the "relaxation" of democratic values in the country.

Along with rights, another fundamental issue is education in democratic values, education that restores the legitimacy of engaging in political work in the country. After so many years of activity by terrorist groups, the population looks with distrust on "traditional politics." It would be interesting to undertake work that helps change this vision.

### *Work with youth*

Work with youth is also a priority, especially in rural and marginal areas. University students are finding ways to participate, but what happens with excluded youths who do not have jobs? In what organizations do they participate? How do they take part in society? Fortunately, it is no longer a commonplace to speak of clubs of "soccer hooligans" and "gangs" as synonymous with youth organizations, but there is still much to be studied in this area.

### *Support for institutions*

Like the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office, local governments are important spaces for defense and dissemination of civil rights. Because they are close to citizens, working with local governments that promote citizen participation is key in this political process.

Finally, improving institutions of the political system continues to be important. As long as they are so dependent on the Executive Branch, however, any improvement may become diluted in the political arena. For example, attempts have been made to modernize the Judicial System and make it more efficient, but confidence in the Judicial System has decreased in the past few years. This leads us to think that seeking efficiency without regard to political processes will bear little fruit if the goal is to consolidate democracy in the country.



## PERU: GENERAL ELECTIONS 2000

The electoral process that took place during these months raised interesting points of debate. To clarify them, we have divided this appendix into two parts. In the first, we indicate the principal events that occurred between the first round of balloting and the proclamation — for the third consecutive time — of Alberto Fujimori as president of Peru. In the second, we attempt to analyze the present crisis as an issue of citizen participation in democratic processes.

### *The electoral panorama*

This year's elections took place in a context that was, in itself, irregular. The 1979 Constitution did not allow for presidential re-election. This changed with the new Constitution of 1993, which allows a president to serve two consecutive terms. Much debate took place with regard to this law and the president's evident desire to run for a third consecutive term as president of Peru. The outcome was that at the end of 1999, President Alberto Fujimori announced his candidacy for president. Of all the opposition forces, it was Alejandro Toledo, candidate of the *Perú Posible* party, who held a strong second place in the opinion polls. On April 9, 2000, President Fujimori, who continued to lead in the polls, did not obtain the 50 percent of the valid votes plus one needed to win on the first ballot. A runoff election had to be called, in which voters would choose between the two candidates who had obtained the most votes in the first round, Alberto Fujimori and Alejandro Toledo. The second round was scheduled for May 28, a date questioned by many national and international organizations, which requested a postponement. Alejandro Toledo also presented a request for a delay; when it was not accepted, he announced that he would not participate in elections on May 28 and called on voters to abstain or spoil their ballots.

This situation made a few things clear:

1. First, the call for a runoff election was the result of a political decision. The real result of the April 9 elections probably will never be known. Here we refer only to the sum of the votes cast for either candidate, independently of everything that occurred during the electoral



campaign, which is another issue. These elections had been marked by so many irregularities (irregularities present in most stages of the process, from the registration of the governing bloc's candidacy to the filling out of voting records and counting of ballots) that at this point, a credible count would be impossible, even if the political will existed to attempt one.

2. Secondly, a runoff election was not initially in the government's plans; rather, it was forced by later events. In the days after the election, a significant public mobilization occurred. To gauge its real dimension, we must consider the overall situation of freedom in the country, particularly with regard to blocking of access to information. This is a point we have mentioned throughout this report, along with the dependency of the majority of the population on television as a source of information. Under these conditions, the effort represented by the staging of parallel mobilizations in various parts of the country, including Lima and cities in the interior, is not to be taken lightly. A more in-depth study remains to be done of the news-transmission mechanisms that allowed for this coordination, as well as the relatively spontaneous concentration of sizeable groups of people in the different cities. The role of radio may stand out, as well as certain personal means of transmitting information, ranging from the traditional "word of mouth" to the ever-increasing use of electronic mail.

3. Thirdly, the percentage of votes obtained by Alejandro Toledo is a result of the accumulation of percentages of voters of various stripes, some of whom only joined together for this particular case. We find basically two groups:

- Those defined by their opposition to Fujimori. This is the percentage of the Peruvian population — perhaps one-third — whose primary political orientation is defined by its opposition to the present political regime. Among these voters, support for Toledo was not based so much on the candidate's proposals as on the fact that he constituted the strongest — or only — alternative in opposition to the present government.

- A certain sector of the Peruvian population that, while its primary political identity is not opposition to Fujimori, is tired of the incumbent, especially because of his administration's failures with regard to creation of jobs and improvement in living conditions.



Once it was determined that an unusual, and to some extent unexpected, runoff election would be held, both candidates made notable changes in their campaign strategies.

- In contrast with the propaganda saturation that preceded the April 9 elections, the governing party opted for a low-profile campaign for the second round. This campaign, designed to put a brake on citizen mobilization, was marked by the small number of political posters in most Peruvian cities and the secondary importance given the governing party's campaign by most open-channel media outlets, at least until just a few days before the election.

- Alejandro Toledo's strategy, on the other hand, revealed a high level of improvisation, which could be attributed as much to the lack of well-prepared party activists within *Perú Posible* as to the need to satisfy each of the groups of voters that we mentioned before. As a result, Toledo's messages swung from the radical calls for confrontation with which he punctuated most of his public appearances, to the conciliatory tone and pledges to continue many of the present government's policies that characterized most of his publicity spots before the runoff election.

Here we have summarized what we believe to be the most significant points of the political situation, providing a sort of "genealogy" of the present political crisis. The following section relates this to the tendencies that we believe underlie the present process.

### *Political crisis and citizen participation*

First of all, the events we summarized here appear to have demonstrated a capacity for mobilization on the part of Peruvian society that until now has been perceived only obliquely. We would like to take as a point of reference not so much the mobilizations that occurred in the days after the election, as announcement of the final results was delayed, but the significant participation by voters in the election itself. Here it is evident that, in a country like Peru, where voting is obligatory, percentages of abstention are not very useful in analyzing the level of people's involvement with respect to the dominant political regime. Such indicators end up telling us more about the Peruvian state's capacity for penetrating



the marginal areas of society, considering the term "marginal" in both its social and spatial senses. In our country, this shows the existence of structural abstention, a significant niche of the population marked by a noteworthy level of socio-political exclusion. This percentage, which could reach 15 to 20 percent of the total nationwide, must be further defined in future work, along with the relative weight of the various factors that could influence this marginalization (such as infrastructure and the existence of practices that tend to exclude certain sectors).

Beyond the percentages of voting and/or abstention, it is important to note the significant number of citizens who were directly involved in the electoral process, whether involuntarily (as vote counters or personnel of the various agencies charged with organizing the election) or on their own initiative (as observers associated with civic organizations or poll watchers of various political parties). It is difficult to determine how much of the underlying motivation was interest sparked by the immediate situation, the product of elections presented dramatically by both the opposition and the government, and how much reflects a growing process of development of citizen awareness. The interest shown by broad sectors of national society could be the cornerstone for redefining some of the hypotheses presented earlier. In this light, it is possible that the disinterest in political activity that we have indicated may have to be understood in the sense of politics as a professional activity, not politics as a possible form of interaction in the public arena. This is more a discrediting of the word "politics" (intuitively associated with practices considered negative) than of political activity itself.

Secondly, the processes of social mobilization that we have described should not be interpreted as re-ideologizing or re-politicizing. In this sense, two particular points stand out clearly: the episodic nature of the mobilizations, and their lack of a political platform as a point of reference.

With regard to the first point, the mobilizations that occurred between the two rounds of balloting seem to have responded more to an aggressive reaction than to deeply rooted democratic patterns. It would seem that it was the evidence of electoral fraud that motivated many Peruvians to take to the streets. Similarly, the lack of a true ideological



framework (that is, the fact that mobilization was not being considered a long-term strategy for change) was reflected in the immediate nature of the mobilizations, which were only organized around a call for a second round of balloting. Mobilizations that seem to be directed toward building a certain level of institutionality, as a reaction to practices considered contrary to such institutionality, would be more realistic and have a greater ability to influence the political situation.

Finally, this electoral process seems to have confirmed Peruvians' lack of confidence in strongly ideologized political forces. The past few months have witnessed a campaign largely devoid of proposals and real debate about issues. Some time ago, Adrianzén introduced the concept of "mirrored representation" to define the characteristics of the new legitimacy pact between voters and candidates. According to this concept, candidates are disconnected from the electorate, but maintain with significant sectors, especially those the polling companies call sectors "D" and "E," a "skin-tight" closeness based on ethnic and socio-cultural factors, and even gender. We could be seeing a singular manner of building legitimacy in the political arena, which was accelerated during these elections.

## APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY

### 1. SAMPLE DESIGN

The *study universe* included all men and women from 18 to 65 years of age, of all socio-economic levels in rural and urban areas in the various geographical regions of the country.

This year, the *sample size* totaled 1,751 cases, distributed proportionally according to the weight of the population of each department and types of towns, respectively. The margin of error of the total sample, for global results, in the worst case ( $p=50$  and  $q=50$ ) was estimated at  $\pm 2.4$  percent, for an accuracy level of 95.5 percent (Table 1).

Table 1  
Sample size and margin of error  
1996 - 1999

Survey year	Sample size	Margin of error
1996	1508	$\pm 3.0$
1997	1533	$\pm 3.0$
1998	1784	$\pm 2.4$
1999	1751	$\pm 2.4$

The sample included virtually all departments of the country, taking into account the most representative provinces and districts of each.



Table 2  
1999 study sample, according to departments and area of residence

Departamentos	Lima		Other urban		Other rural		Total	
	Cases	%	Cases	%	Cases	%	Cases	%
Amazonas			9	33.3	18	66.7	27	1.5
Ancash			43	57.3	32	42.7	75	4.3
Apurimac			11	35.5	20	64.5	31	1.8
Arequipa			62	86.1	10	13.9	72	4.1
Ayacucho			20	48.8	21	51.2	41	2.3
Cajamarca			26	26.3	73	73.7	99	5.7
Callao	47	100.0					47	2.7
Cusco			38	45.8	45	54.2	83	4.7
Huancavelica			8	25.0	24	75.0	32	1.8
Huanuco			20	37.7	33	62.3	53	3.0
Ica			37	84.1	7	15.9	44	2.5
Junin			54	68.4	25	31.6	79	4.5
La Libertad			68	68.0	32	32.0	100	5.7
Lambayeque			57	77.0	17	23.0	74	4.2
Lima	457	89.4	33	6.5	21	4.1	511	29.2
Loreto			31	56.4	24	43.6	55	3.1
Moquegua			9	81.8	2	18.2	11	0.6
Pasco			10	58.8	7	41.2	17	1.0
Piura			81	73.0	30	27.0	111	6.3
Puno			33	38.8	52	61.2	85	4.9
San Martin			26	57.8	19	42.2	45	2.6
Tacna			13	81.3	3	18.8	16	0.9
Tumbes			13	100.0			13	0.7
Ucayali			20	66.7	10	33.3	30	1.7
Total	504	28.8	722	41.2	525	30.0	1751	100.0

#### Sampling method

The *sampling method* used by IMASEN S.A. was a multi-stage probabilistic design with random selection of sampling points.

In urban areas: streets, buildings and households by the random route method<sup>1</sup>

In rural areas a "skip interval" was used.

Selection of persons and households was done by the Kish system.

<sup>1</sup> Random route is a stair-step system based on a pre-determined starting point.



## 2. QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire applied in 1999 is basically the same as that designed for the 1998 study. Some changes were made, however, including:

a) Some new questions were included:

If your district or community were given money to make improvements, what institution do you believe would best administer the funds?

b) Some questions from the 1996 and 1997 studies were reincorporated:

b.1) In the series on legitimacy of the system, we added a question just as it had been phrased in the 1996 and 1997 questionnaires, to determine whether variations observed in the 1998 study were due to a change in the phrasing of the question.

(B4a) To what extent do you feel proud to live under the Peruvian political system? (scale of 1 to 7)

b.2) The series on interpersonal trust:

(IT1) Speaking in general of the people of your (neighborhood or community), would you say the people are generally very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, slightly trustworthy or not trustworthy?

(IT2) Do you believe that most of the time people only worry about themselves, or do you believe that most of the time people try to help their neighbors?

(IT3) Do you believe that most people would try to take advantage of you, given the opportunity, or do you believe they would not take advantage of you?

b.3) The series on general information was added in the 1999 questionnaire:

(GI1) Who is the president of the United States? (CLINTON)

(GI2) Who is the president of Argentina? (MENEM)

(GI3) How many members does the Peruvian Congress have? (120)

(GI4) Who is the president of Ecuador? (JAMIL MAHUAD)

c) The phrasing of some questions was changed

(AJ01): If you have been a victim, with what institution did you file a complaint about the robbery or aggression?

(RC1) Do you believe that participating in local government affairs is a citizen's duty, a right, or something we should do only if it interests us?



d) The following questions were eliminated

(LGL3d) Would you be willing to pay more taxes to the district government so it could provide better services, or do you believe it would not be worthwhile to pay more?

(demo) I would like you to tell me in a few words what you understand by democracy

### 3. PILOT TEST

The pilot test of the questionnaire was carried out between September 30 and October 6, 1999, in Lima, Ayacucho and Moyobamba.

Table 3  
Pilot test sample (1999)

Areas of pilot test	N° of cases
A middle-class area of Metropolitan Lima: La Molina, Miraflores, San Miguel	30
A marginal urban area of Lima: San Juan of Lurigancho, Comas and Villa el Salvador	
A Quechua-speaking community in the rural highlands of Ayacucho (Santa Ana, Ñahuinpuquio, Vista Alegre, Quicapata, Santa Elena)	21
An area in the rural jungle: Moyobamba (Pueblo Libre, Las Malvinas).	20
Total	71

The principal comments about the pilot test were:

- In the opinion of interviewers and respondents, the questionnaire was too long. As a result, we eliminated some questions, particularly open-ended ones.
- In the series of questions about participation (CP7 to CP30), there were problems with regard to the term "community," because it was not clear if this referred to the district or the respondent's neighborhood. Interviewers were instructed to define the term.
- Interviewers had some problems with the series of questions about the legitimacy of the political system or confidence in institutions, both because of the use of cards and comprehension of the questions. The survey was always done this way, and we could not change the questions or the use of cards.
- Many respondents did not understand the term "extrajudicial conciliation."

#### 4. DEFINITION OF CONTROL VARIABLES

The demographic, social and economic variables used to establish control groups for the sample were: sex, age, native language, education, area of residence and socio-economic condition.

##### Sex (sex<sup>2</sup>)

- 0. Female
- 1. Male

##### Age (edadrec)

Values of the sample ranged from 18 to 65 years. The following age groups were established:

- 1. 18-24 years
- 2. 25-34 years
- 3. 35-44 years
- 4. 45 and over

##### Native language (etnia)

We chose the question, "What language have you spoken at home since you were little?" which had the following possible responses: 1) Spanish, 2) Quechua, 3) Aymara, 4) Spanish and Quechua, 5) Spanish and Aymara, 6) Other (indigenous), 7) Other (foreign). The category Quechua/Aymara includes those who responded that their native language was only Quechua and those who spoke both Quechua and Spanish as native languages. The categories were:

- 0. Quechua /Aymara
- 1. Spanish

##### Region (regrec)

As in the 1998 study, we chose the region variable that included three groups of areas of residence: urban area, rural area and Lima.

- 0. Other rural
- 1. Other urban
- 2. Lima

##### Educational Level: years of education successfully completed (edu2r)

We used the variable: Years of education successfully completed. On this basis the following broad educational groups were established::

---

<sup>2</sup> We include here the label of the variable in the database.



1. Through primary (0 to 6 years of education successfully completed)
2. Through secondary: (7 to 11 years of education successfully completed)
3. Higher education incomplete: (12 to 15 years of education successfully completed)
4. University complete or more: (16 or more years of education successfully completed)

#### Socio-economic Level (nser)

To do regressions, we used the variable *ses*, which is possession of the following goods or appliances:

- (r1) possesses a television set
- (r3) possesses a refrigerator
- (r4) possesses a telephone
- (r5) possesses a washing machine
- (r6) possesses an automobile manufactured in the past five years

For the analysis of averages and cross-analysis of tables, however, we took into consideration the variable *nser*, which is the variable of socio-economic level designed by IMASEN (*nser*):

1. Lowest
2. Lower
3. Lower middle
4. Upper middle/upper

Table 4 shows the composition of the different control variables in the 1999 sample and previous studies.

Table 4  
Control variables 1996 - 1999

Variable	Categories	1999	1998	1997	1996
Sex	Women	50.8	50,2	50,6	51,3
	Men	49.2	49,8	49,4	48,7
	18 to 24 years	27.4	24,8	24,1	27,1
Age	25 to 34	29.3	29,4	25,9	26,9
	35 to 44	19.8	21,5	23,5	22,8
	45 and over	23.5	24,3	26,5	23,2
Native language	Quechua/Aymara	16.2	16,7	11,4	8,8
	Spanish	83.8	83,3	88,6	91,2
Area of residence	Other rural	30.0	29,2	29,4	29,5
	Other urban	41.2	42,9	39,2	40,2
	Lima	28.8	27,9	31,4	30,3
Years of education successfully completed	Through primary	21.1	25,4	23,6	23,9
	Secondary inc./comp.	41.7	43,8	43,0	42,8
	Higher educ. incomplete	25.1	13,3	19,1	20,8
	University complete	12.2	17,4	14,3	12,6
Socio-economic level	Lowest	49.7	49.9		
	Lower	37.6	37.2		
	Lower middle	9.42	9.98		
	Upper middle/upper	3.26	2.86		

## 5. DESIGN OF INDICATORS OF DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

Following steps established in previous years of the study, we designed the following series of indicators.

**Strategic Objective:** Greater citizen participation in democratic processes

*Indicator (SOa):* Percentage of citizens who are active members of at least one civil society organization

In the 1999 study, while specific questions from previous years, especially 1998, were maintained (if organizations exist in the respondent's community, and if he or she is a member), we decided to ask how frequently the respondent attended meetings of the organizations mentioned. By doing this, we hoped to obtain a broader sample of people who participated. As



can be seen in the table of indicators at the end of this appendix, however, the percentage of active participation is much lower than that obtained in the 1996 and 1997 studies.

#### Previous methodology

The 1996 and 1997 studies took into account frequent participation in the following organizations:

- (cp7) Parents' association
- (cp13) Women's association
- (cp6) Catholic community or non-Catholic religious community
- (cp9) Professional organizations
- (cp3) Community organizations
- (cp10) Unions
- (cp17) Political parties or groups
- (cp30) Other organizations

In the 1999 study we added the variable

- (cp33) Producers' associations

A point value of 1 was assigned to those who attend frequently and a point value of 0 to those who attend sometimes, almost never or never, or who did not respond. An active member is defined as a respondent who frequently attends at least one of the organizations mentioned.

#### *Indicator (SOB): Percentage of citizens who actively participate in resolving community problems*

This indicator has been designed in a similar way in all four years of the study, taking into account the following questions:

- (CP5) Have you worked to resolve or tried to resolve some problem in your (community/neighborhood)?
- (CP5a) Have you donated money or materials to help resolve a problem or make an improvement in your (community/neighborhood)?
- (CP5b) Have you provided your own labor?
- (CP5c) Have you attended meetings to resolve a problem or make an improvement in your (community/neighborhood)?

As each of these has three categories — 1) yes, 2) no, and 3) don't know — we grouped the responses "No" and "Don't know" into a single category, producing two response categories for each question. The new, re-

coded variables (cp5r, cp5ar, cp5br, cp5cr) were added to produce the scale of community participation:

Scale of community participation

0. Does not participate
1. Participates in 1 activity
2. Participates in 2 activities
3. Participates in 3 activities
4. Participates in all activities mentioned

We grouped into one set those who participated in three or four activities, representing high participation, and in another those who participate in two, one or no community activities.

### **Intermediate result N° 1: More effective national institutions**

*Indicator (R1.1): Percentage of citizens who have confidence in key national institutions*

We constructed this indicator on the basis of valid responses (eliminating those who said they did were not familiar with the institution or did not respond) to the following questions:

- (B13) How much confidence do you have in Congress?
- (B27) How much confidence do you have in the Judicial System?
- (B15) How much confidence do you have in the Attorney General's Office?
- (B17) How much confidence do you have in the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office?
- (B11) How much confidence do you have in the National Electoral Court (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, JNE)?
- (B11a) How much confidence do you have in the National Office of Electoral Processes (Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, ONPE)?
- (B28) How much confidence do you have in the National Identification Registry (RENIEC)
- (B15b) How much confidence do you have in the Controller General's Office?

Each of these questions was measured on a scale of seven values, with 1 representing no confidence and 7 high confidence. The scale resulting from the sum of the eight variables presents a range of values from 8 to 56. The scale was divided into high and low confidence as follows:

- Low confidence (8-35)
- High confidence (36-56)



### Confidence in the electoral system

We followed the same procedure used for confidence in institutions, taking into account the variables of confidence in the following institutions: JNE (b11), ONPE (b11a), RENIEC (b28). The resulting scale had a range of values from 3 to 21. Values from 15 to 21 were considered high confidence and values from 3 to 14 low confidence.

Table 5  
Confidence in electoral system (siselecr). 1996 - 1998  
(Percentages)

Confidence in institutions of the electoral system (JNE, ONPE, RENIEC)	1996	1997	1998	1999
High confidence	25	18	20	21
Low confidence	75	82	81	79
Base	(933)	(1213)	(1367)	(1194)

### **Intermediate result N° 2: Greater access to justice**

*Indicator (): Percentage of citizens who believe Peruvian courts guarantee a fair trial*

To design this indicator, we took into account a single question — (b1) To what extent do you believe Peruvian courts guarantee a fair trial? — which was measured on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 signifies no confidence and 7 a high level of confidence. A value of 90 (Don't know) is considered a lost value, and values are grouped into two categories

- Low confidence (1-4)
- High confidence (5-7)

### **Intermediate result N° 3: Local governments that best respond to their constituents**

*Indicator: Percentage of citizens who believe local government responds to their needs and demands*

In the 1996 and 1997 studies, the indicator was created on the basis of the following questions:

- (sgl1d) In your opinion, are the services the DISTRICT government provides to the community: very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
- (sgl2d) When you or your neighbors have gone to the DISTRICT government to handle some matter, in your opinion has the treatment you received been: very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?

- (sgl1p) In your opinion, are the services the PROVINCIAL government provides to the community: very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
- (sgl2p) When you or your neighbors have gone to the PROVINCIAL government to handle some matter, in your opinion has the treatment you received been: very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
- (b22) Confidence in District Government
- (b23) Confidence in Provincial Government
- In your opinion, who do you believe has best resolved your community's problems: the central government, Congress or the local government?

The 1998 and 1999 questionnaires did not include the last question. For that reason, while we have followed the same methodology, we have only taken into consideration the first six variables

The questions about treatment and services have five values: 1) Very bad or very poor, 2) Bad or poor, 3) Fair, 4) Good or well, and 5) Very good or very well. Following the previous methodology, we divided this scale into two categories, with Very bad to Fair in one category (value of 0) and Very good to Good (value of 1) in the other. In the case of questions about confidence, the division was as follows: from 1 to 4 (value of 0) and from 5 to 7 (value of 1). Adding the six variables (previously re-coded according to the indicated values), we obtained a scale of 0 to 6.

We considered cases showing values of 4, 5 and 6 on this scale to be the percentage of high responsiveness by local government. The number of valid cases taken into account by the indicator is the same in both the previous and new methodologies.

In the 1998 and 1999 studies, we have differentiated between district and provincial governments, designing an indicator for each.

**Intermediate result: Citizens better prepared to exercise their basic rights and civic responsibilities**

*Indicator: Percentage of citizens who know where to go to protect their rights.*

#### Previous methodology

The indicator was created on the basis of the following questions:

Do you know where to go to complain if you are mistreated by a public functionary? (variable DC10)



What type of mistreatment did you think of when you heard the preceding questions? (variable DC11).

If the respondent said he or she had thought of physical mistreatment, we considered the following valid responses in DC10:

- District attorney
- Private attorney
- Police station
- Ronda (rural community security patrol)
- Demuna (office of Defense of Women, Children and Adolescents — only for the years 1998/1999<sup>3</sup>)

All correct responses were given a point value of 1 and incorrect responses a value of 0, with which we created a variable — Do you know where to go in case of physical mistreatment? — with two categories:

0. Does not know where to go
1. Does know where to go

If the respondent said he or she thought of poor attention, we considered the following responses valid:

- District attorney
- Human Rights Ombudsman's Office
- Private attorney
- The person's superior

Following the previous procedure, we created the variable "Knows where to go in case of poor attention," with two categories:

0. Does not know where to go
1. Does know where to go

For cases in which the respondent said "both types of mistreatment," we considered valid responses to be:

- District attorney or justice of the peace
- Private attorney
- Police station
- Ronda (rural community security patrol)
- Human Rights Ombudsman's Office
- The person's superior

Repeating the same procedure, we created the variable "Knows where to go in case of both types of mistreatment," with two categories:

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<sup>3</sup> In 1999, PROMUDEH was also included (six cases)

0. Does not know where to go
1. Does know where to go

We selected those cases in which the respondent said he or she had thought of a type of mistreatment (that is, "Don't know/no response" answers were excluded from variable DC11 — "In what type of mistreatment did you think when you heard the question?") and added the three variables explained previously.

Beginning with the 1998 study, a question was asked about whether the respondent really would go to file a complaint in case of mistreatment, and a new indicator obtained.

*Indicator: Percentage of citizens in disadvantaged groups who know their basic rights and civic responsibilities*

Disadvantaged group

The definition of "disadvantaged group" that we have used follows the methodology presented in 1998. We considered three variables: education, native language and socio-economic level:

- men and women with 0 to 6 years of education successfully completed and
- respondents with a low socio-economic level, or
- respondents whose native language is Quechua

We constructed the indicator of knowledge of rights and responsibilities on the basis of two series of variables:

- *Knowledge of rights*
- *Knowledge of responsibilities*

#### Knowledge of rights

Is based on the following questions:

1. (DC1a) Is the right to publicly express one's ideas contained in the Constitution?
2. (DC4a) In the case of detention, is the right to be informed by authorities, without delay, of the place of detention contained in the Constitution?
3. (DC5a) Is the right to obtain from any public entity the information you request (except information affecting national security) contained in the Constitution?



4. (DC6a) Is the right to request the removal from office of an authority who does not fulfill his or her functions contained in the Constitution?
5. (DC7a) Is the right for voters to obtain from elected authorities information about their activities and expenses contained in the Constitution?

These questions have three categories of responses: "yes", "no", and "don't know/no response." We grouped into a single category the responses "no" (incorrect) and "don't know":

0. The right is not contained in the Constitution, or does not know
1. The right is contained in the Constitution

Question DC9 was re-coded because the question was phrased differently:

6. (DC9) If you are arrested for any reason other than problems related to drug trafficking, espionage or terrorism, do you know how long you can be detained without a court order?

"No more than 24 hours" was considered the correct response, and other responses were grouped into a single category.

We obtained a scale of knowledge of rights with a range of values from 0 to 6. We divided the scale in two to define a high and low level of knowledge of rights.

#### Knowledge of responsibilities

We created an index of fulfillment of responsibilities based on the following questions:

- (RC1) Do you believe participating in local government affairs is a duty of citizens, or something we can do only if it interests us?
- (RC3) Speaking of acts of corruption (for example, a public servant asking for a bribe to process paperwork more rapidly), I am going to read three phrases, and I would like to you tell me with which you most strongly identify (only read the first three)

Taking as a basis the scale of knowledge of rights and index of fulfillment of responsibilities, we created an indicator of knowledge of rights and responsibilities. This indicator cannot be compared with that of the first two years of the study, but it can be compared with the 1998 study.

## 6. SCALES USED IN THE REPORT

The following table summarizes the principal scales we have used in the preceding chapters, indicating the names they have been given in the database and the variables on the basis of which they were designed.

Table 6  
Description of principal scales used in the 1999 study

Scales		Original variable(s)	
Description	Range	Description	Range
(intap1) Interest in public affairs	0-100	(p1)How frequently do you seek information about current events in the country?	1-5
(intpolr) Interest in politics	0-100	(a5)What is your attitude toward politics?	1-4
(partcomx) Community participation	0-100	(com1) Have you tried to resolve a problem in your neighborhood/community? (com2) Have you donated money/material to resolve a neighborhood problem? (com3) Have you donated labor? (com4) Have you attended meetings to resolve a neighborhood problem? (com5) Have you helped form a new group to resolve a problem?	1-2
(partsoc) Participation in civil society organizations	9-36	(part1) Participation in parents' association (part3) Participation in sports club (part4) Participation in women's association, mothers' club (part5) Participation in religious communities (part6) Participation in professional association (part7) Participation in neighborhood organizations (part8) Participation in unions (part9) Participation in political parties (part10) Participation in producers' association	1-4
(apoyospx) Support for political system	0-100	(b1x) Do you believe the courts guarantee fair trials? (b2x) Do you trust the political institutions in Peru? (b3x) Do you believe basic rights are protected in Peru? (b4x) Are you personally happy with the political system in Peru? (b6x) Do you personally support the institutions of the political system?	1-7
(gld) Opinion of district government	0-100	(gldser) Opinion of services provided by district government (gldtrat) Opinion of treatment by district government (gldconf) Confidence in district government	1-100



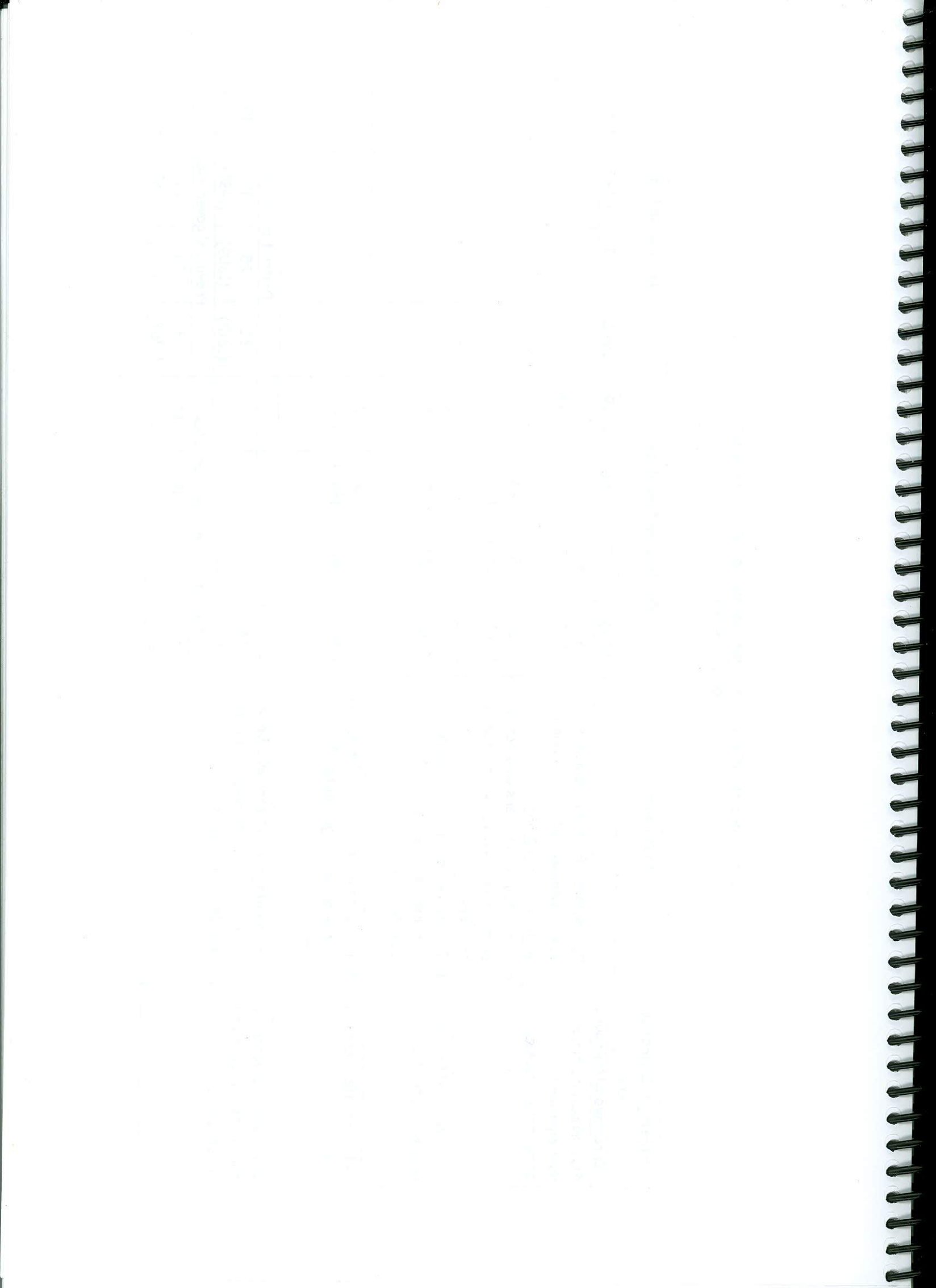
Scales		Original variable(s)	
Description	Range	Description	Range
(glp) Opinion of provincial government	0-100	(glpser) Opinion of services provided by provincial government (glptrat) Opinion of treatment by provincial government (glpconf) Confidence in provincial government	1-100
(der) Knowledge of rights	0-100	(dc1ar) Freedom of expression (dc4ar) Be informed of place of detention (dc5ar) Information from public entities (dc6ar) Replacement of elected authorities (dc7ar) Accountability by elected authorities (dc9r) Maximum time of detention	0-1
(resp) Knowledge of responsibilities	0-100	(rc1rr) Participate in local government affairs (rc3rr) Denounce an act of corruption	0-1
(cumpderx) Upholding of rights	0-100	(DC1b) Is the right to publicly express one's ideas upheld in Peru? (DC4b) Is the right to have authorities indicate without delay where a person is being detained upheld in Peru? (DC5b) Is the right to obtain any requested information (except that affecting national security) from any public entity upheld in Peru? (DC6b) Is the right to ask for an authority to be replaced if he/she does not fulfill his/her duties upheld in Peru? (DC7b) Is the right of citizens to have access to information from elected officials about their activities and expenses upheld in Peru?	1-7
(b1x) Confidence that Peruvian courts guarantee fair trials	0-100	(b1) Do you believe the courts in Peru guarantee a fair trial?	1-7
(a7rx) Preference for democracy	0-100	(a7) Is democracy preferable to any other form of government?	1-3
(demo3rx) Evaluation of how well democracy functions	0-100	(demo3) Opinion of how well democracy functions	1-3
(m1rx) Evaluation of President Fujimori's performance	0-100	(m1) Approval of Fujimori's performance	1-5
(golpex) Tolerance for military coups	0-100	(gol1) Justifies coup to resolve economic crisis (gol2) Justifies coup to resolve problems of violence (gol3) Justifies coup to resolve other problems	0-1
(autox) Tolerance for civil authoritarianism	0-100	(auto1) Justifies dictatorial power to resolve economic crisis (auto2) Justifies dictatorial power to resolve	0-1

Scales		Original variable(s)	
Description	Range	Description	Range
		problems of violence (auto3)Justifies dictatorial power to resolve other problems	
(ideo1) Left-right scale	1-10	(ideo1) On a scale where 1 signifies "extreme left" and 10 "extreme right," where would you place yourself?	1-10
(np1r)Attendance at "town halls" or meetings	1-4	(np1) Have you attended a "town hall" meeting, local government session or meeting called by the local government?	1-4



Indicators of USAID/Peru Democratic Initiatives Program  
(1996 - 1999)

Strategic Objective and Intermediate Results	Indicators	Previous methodology				New methodology			
		1996	1997	1998	1999	1996	1997	1998	1999
SO1: Greater citizen participation in democratic processes	a. Percentage of citizens who are active members of at least one civil society organization	46 (1508)	49 (1533)		36 (1751)				
	b. Percentage of citizens who actively participate in resolving community problems	32 (1508)	29 (1533)	23 (1784)	26 (1751)				
IR1.1. More effective national institutions	1. Percentage of citizens who have confidence in key national institutions	25 (695)	18 (1124)	20 (1107)	18 (1016)				
IR1.2. Greater access to justice	2. Percentage of citizens who believe Peruvian courts guarantee free trials	11 (1424)	11 (1416)	8 (1692)	6 (1643)				
IR1.3. Local governments that better respond to constituents	Percentage of citizens who believe local governments respond to their needs and demands	Indic. w/ six var.				District government			
		14 (925)	18 (1032)			22 (1212)	25 (1309)	19 (1491)	19 (1453)
		Indicator with seven variables				Provincial government			
		16 (925)	20 (1032)	16 (1305)	17 (1189)	23 (1067)	28 (1124)	21 (1365)	20 (1214)





Strategic Objective and Intermediate Results	Indicators	Previous methodology				New methodology			
		1996	1997	1998	1999	1996	1997	1998	1999
IR1.4. Citizens better prepared to exercise rights and responsibilities	4. Percentage of citizens who know where to go to protect their rights	58 (1286)	60 (1312)	65 (1663)	69 (1628)	77 (1467)	82 (1495)	80 (1784)	82 (1751)
	Disadvantaged groups	52 (786)	53 (798)	53 (944)	55 (963)	9 (140)	13 (192)	15 (268)	13 (231)
	Percentage of citizens who know their basic rights and civic responsibilities	23 (1508)	28 (1533)			29 (1508)	32 (1533)	32 (1784)	33.5 (1751)
	5. Percentage of citizens in disadvantaged groups who know their basic rights and civic responsibilities	17 (786)	20 (798)			11 (140)	14 (192)	10 (268)	10 (204)
	Previous methodology for disadvantaged group and new methodology for indicator of rights and responsibilities	24 (786)	24 (798)	26 (944)	26 (814)				

Democratic Participation in Peru 1999  
Questionnaire

Buenos días/ tardes/ noches. Mi nombre es: \_\_\_\_\_, soy encuestador de IMASEN. Estamos haciendo una encuesta para conocer las opiniones de las personas sobre distintos temas de la situación nacional. Esta vivienda fue seleccionada al azar y quisiéramos que nos permitiera hacerle una entrevista que demorará aproximadamente 30 minutos. La entrevista es anónima y no necesitamos su nombre, sólo sus respuestas sinceras. Todas sus respuestas serán mantenidas en secreto. Recuerde, no existen respuestas correctas a la preguntas; lo que nos interesa saber es su opinión personal.

(P1) Para empezar ¿con qué frecuencia se informa usted de lo que sucede en el país?  
(SÓLO LEER LAS CUATRO PRIMERAS OPCIONES)

1. Frecuentemente
2. De vez en cuando
3. Sólo cuando me interesa algún tema en particular
4. Casi nunca
5. Nunca
90. NS/NC

	(P2) ¿Por qué medio se informa con mayor frecuencia de lo que sucede en el país?	(P2A) En cuál de los siguientes medios confía usted más?
Radio	1	1
Televisión	2	2
Periódicos	3	3
Amigos o familiares	4	4
Compañeros de trabajo	5	5
Otros (especificar)		
NS/NC	90	90

Hablando sólo de noticias, quisiera saber con que frecuencia: (lea las preguntas una por una y espere las respuestas para cada una de ellas)	Frecuente-Mente	A veces	Nunca	NS/NC	NO TIENE
(P3A) Escucha un programa de noticias por la radio	1	2	3	90	91
(P3B) Escucha un programa de noticias por la T.V.	1	2	3	90	91
(P3C) Lee noticias en el periódico	1	2	3	90	91

AHORA LE VOY A LEER ALGUNAS PREGUNTAS SOBRE SU COMUNIDAD / BARRIO/ VECINDARIO

(A4A) De los siguientes problemas que le voy a leer, ¿cuál es el problema principal del lugar donde vive? (TARJETA A)

1. Falta de servicios básicos -luz, agua-



2. Falta de pistas / carreteras
3. Alimentación
4. Falta de títulos de propiedad, litigio por tierras
5. Problemas para la producción -p.e. riego-
6. Delincuencia
7. Limpieza

- Otro (especificar sólo uno) \_\_\_\_\_

90. NS/NC

(P5) ¿A través de qué organización o institución cree que podría resolverse mejor ese problema? (TARJETA B)

1. Pidiendo el apoyo de alguna institución (iglesia, ONG, otra)
2. Buscando el apoyo de algún grupo o representante político
3. Pidiendo (exigiendo) el apoyo del municipio
4. A través de las organizaciones vecinales que hay en mi barrio/comunidad
5. Poniéndome de acuerdo con mis vecinos
6. Por lo que pueda hacer por mí mismo o junto con mi familia
7. Otra manera (especificar sólo una)

90. NS/NC

(P6) Si en su localidad ocurre un problema muy grave, una injusticia que afecta a toda la comunidad ¿qué institución u organización sería la más efectiva para ayudar a solucionarlo? (TARJETA C)

1. Las organizaciones de la comunidad
2. ONGs, organizaciones de derechos humanos
3. Medios de comunicación
4. Iglesia
5. Autoridades locales (juez de paz, tnte. gobernador, ronda)
6. Municipio Distrital
7. Fiscalía
8. Policía
9. Algún grupo o líder político
- Otro (especificar sólo una)

90. NS/NC

Le voy a mencionar varios grupos y organizaciones. Por favor, dígame si esas organizaciones existen en su comunidad, si es miembro de ellas y con qué frecuencia (que tan seguido) asiste a sus reuniones (Pregúntele si participa en algún otro tipo de organización, cuál y escríbala en OTRA)

Organizaciones en las que participa	¿Existe?			Es miembro?			¿Con qué frecuencia asiste a sus reuniones?				
	Sí	No	N S	Sí	No	N S	Frecuente	De vez en cuando	Casi nunca	Nunca	NS
(CP7) Asociación de padres de familia	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90

Organizaciones en las que participa	¿Existe?			Es miembro?			¿Con qué frecuencia asiste a sus reuniones?				
	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP16) Asociación o club deportivo	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP13) Asociación de mujeres, club de madres, comedor popular, vaso de leche.	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP6) Comunidad parroquial católica o comunidad religiosa no católica	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP3) Organizaciones vecinales, comité de desarrollo, etc.	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP9) Colegio profesional	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP10) Sindicatos	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP17) Agrupaciones o partidos políticos	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP33) Asociación de productores, comerciantes, cámara de comercio	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90
(CP30) Otra (especifique) _____	1	2	90	1	2	90	1	2	3	4	90

(CP15a) ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que su opinión es tomada en cuenta en las decisiones de las organizaciones o asociaciones en las que participa? ¿Su opinión es tomada en cuenta mucho, poco o nada?

1. Mucho
2. Poco
3. Nada
90. NS/NC
91. No aplica (no participa en ninguna organización)

(CP31) ¿Durante este último año ha ocupado algún cargo en la directiva de esa(s) organización(es)?

1. Sí
2. No
90. NS/NC
91. No aplica (no participa)

(CP19) ¿Cree usted que desde que existen organizaciones de mujeres en su (comunidad/ barrio/vecindario), las mujeres tienen más influencia en la comunidad, tienen menos influencia o tienen la misma?

1. Más influencia
2. Menos influencia
3. La misma
90. NS/NC
91. No hay organizaciones de mujeres



EN ESTE ÚLTIMO AÑO:	Sí	No	NS
(CP5) ¿Ha tratado usted de resolver algún problema de su (comunidad/barrio/vecindario)?	1	2	90
(CP5a) ¿Ha donado usted dinero o materiales para resolver algún problema o para hacer alguna mejora en su (comunidad/barrio/vecindario)?	1	2	90
(CP5b) ¿Ha dado usted su propio trabajo o mano de obra?	1	2	90
(CP5c) ¿Ha asistido usted a reuniones para resolver algún problema o para hacer alguna mejora en su (comunidad/barrio/vecindario)?	1	2	90
(CP5d) ¿Ha ayudado a formar algún grupo nuevo para resolver algún problema local, o para buscar alguna mejora en su comunidad?	1	2	90

(P12) ¿Le gustaría participar más en organizaciones sociales o políticas?

1. Sí me gustaría (pase a la pregunta P12A)
2. No, porque ya participo bastante/o suficiente
3. No, porque no me parece que participando solucione mis problemas
90. NS/NC

(P12A) ¿Por qué no participa más? (TARJETA D)

1. Por falta de tiempo
2. Porque en mi barrio/comunidad no hay organizaciones que vean los temas que me interesan
3. Porque a veces no entiendo lo que discuten
4. Porque no me gusta cómo funcionan las organizaciones de mi barrio/comunidad
5. Porque no me han dado la oportunidad
6. Porque no puedo hablar bien en público
7. Porque no creo tener la educación necesaria
- Otra (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_
90. NS/NC

(IT1) Hablando en general de la gente de su (vecindario, barrio o comunidad) ¿diría usted que la gente en general es muy confiable, algo confiable, poco confiable o nada confiable?

1. Muy confiable
2. Algo confiable
3. Poco confiable
4. Nada confiable
90. No sabe

(IT2) ¿Cree usted que la mayoría de las veces la gente se preocupa solo por sí misma, o cree que la mayoría de las veces la gente trata de ayudar al prójimo?

1. Se preocupa por sí misma
2. Trata de ayudar al prójimo
90. No sabe

(IT3) ¿Cree usted que la mayoría de la gente trataría de aprovecharse de usted si se les presentara la oportunidad, o cree que no se aprovecharían?

1. Sí se aprovecharían
2. No se aprovecharían
90. No sabe

AHORA VAMOS A HABLAR SOBRE LA MUNICIPALIDAD DISTRITAL Y LA MUNICIPALIDAD PROVINCIAL

(NP1) ¿Ha asistido a un cabildo abierto, una sesión municipal o alguna reunión convocada por la Municipalidad distrital (o provincial en caso que sea cercado) durante el último año? (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. Sí he asistido
2. No he sido convocado a ninguna de esas reuniones
3. Fui convocado, pero no pude asistir
4. Fui convocado, pero no me pareció importante o no estuve de acuerdo con asistir
90. NS/NC

(LGL4d) ¿Cree usted que la Municipalidad (el alcalde, el concejal) DISTRITAL responde a lo que quiere la gente casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. Siempre
2. La mayoría de las veces
3. De vez en cuando
4. Casi nunca
5. Nunca
90. NS/NC

(LGL4p) ¿Cree usted que la Municipalidad (el alcalde, el concejal) PROVINCIAL responde a lo que quiere la gente casi siempre, la mayoría de las veces, de vez en cuando, casi nunca o nunca?

1. Siempre
2. La mayoría de las veces
3. De vez en cuando
4. Casi nunca
5. Nunca
90. NS/NC

(SGL1d) ¿Cree usted que los servicios que la Municipalidad DISTRITAL está dando a la comunidad son

1. Muy buenos
2. Buenos
3. Regulares
4. Malos
5. Muy malos
90. NS/NC



(SGL2d) ¿Cómo considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Municipalidad de su DISTRITO a hacer algún trámite? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. Muy bien
2. Bien
3. Regular
4. Mal
5. Muy mal
90. NS/NC
91. Nunca ha ido a hacer un trámite

(SGL1p) ¿Cree usted que los servicios que la Municipalidad PROVINCIAL está dando a la comunidad son

1. Muy buenos
2. Buenos
3. Regulares
4. Malos
5. Muy malos
90. NS/NC

(SGL2p) ¿Cómo considera que le han tratado a usted o a sus vecinos cuando han ido a la Municipalidad PROVINCIAL a hacer algún trámite? ¿Le han tratado muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal?

1. Muy bien
2. Bien
3. Regular
4. Mal
5. Muy mal
90. NS/NC
91. Nunca ha ido a hacer un trámite

Si a su distrito o comunidad le dieran dinero para hacer algunas mejoras ¿qué institución u organización cree que lo administraría mejor?:

1. Algún ministerio u oficina del estado
2. El municipio
3. Una ONG
4. La iglesia
5. Otra (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_
90. NS/NC

Le voy a mostrar una tarjeta que contiene una escalera de 7 gradas (MOSTRAR TARJETA E): cada grada indica un puntaje que va de 1, que significa NADA, hasta 7, que significa MUCHO. Por ejemplo, si yo le preguntara hasta qué punto le gusta (ir al fútbol, ir a una fiesta regional, ver televisión), si a usted no le gusta NADA, elegiría la grada número 1, y si por el contrario le gusta MUCHO (ir al fútbol, ir a una fiesta regional, ver televisión) escogería la grada número 7. Si su opinión está entre NADA y MUCHO usted elegiría una de las gradas del medio. Entonces ¿hasta qué punto le gusta ver (ir al fútbol, ir a una fiesta regional, ver televisión)? Léame (señáleme) el número (ASEGÚRESE QUE EL ENTREVISTADO ENTIENDA CORRECTAMENTE)



Nos gustaría hablar ahora de las instituciones políticas en el Perú como son la Presidencia, el Congreso, el Poder Judicial, los partidos, etc., es decir, el Sistema Político en general. Le voy a leer una serie de preguntas y quisiera que me diga en qué punto se ubica usted, usando esta tarjeta de 7 gradas.

	Nada						Mucho	NS
(B4a) ¿Hasta qué punto se siente orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político peruano?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90
(B1) ¿Hasta qué punto cree que los juzgados en el Perú garantizan un juicio justo?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90
(B2) ¿Hasta qué punto confía usted en las instituciones políticas del Perú?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90
(B3) ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los derechos básicos de las personas están protegidos por el sistema político en el Perú?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90
(B4) ¿Hasta qué punto esta usted personalmente contento con el sistema político del Perú?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90
(B6) ¿Hasta qué punto usted personalmente apoya las instituciones del sistema político en el Perú?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90

Ahora le voy a mencionar una serie de instituciones y quisiera que me dijera si las conoce y cuánta confianza tiene en ellas. Continuaremos con la escalera de 7 gradas y quisiera que me dijera en qué punto de la escalera de 7 gradas (MOSTRAR TARJETA E) se ubica usted. Si usted no confía nada en el Congreso escoja el número 1 y si el Congreso le inspira mucha confianza escoja el número 7, si su opinión está entre nada y mucho escoja una de las gradas del medio

INSTITUCIONES	Nada						Mucho	NS	NC
(B13) Congreso	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B27) Poder Judicial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B12) Fuerzas Armadas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B18) Policía Nacional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B22) Municipio Distrital	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B23) Municipio Provincial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B20) Iglesia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B21) Periodistas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B15) Fiscalía de la Nación	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B11) Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (JNE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B17) Defensoría del Pueblo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B28) Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil (RENIEC)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B11a) Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B15b) Contraloría General de la República	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B30) Organizaciones vecinales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91
(B31) Organizaciones gremiales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	90	91



(M1) Hablando en general del actual gobierno, diría Usted que el trabajo que está realizando el presidente Fujimori es

1. Muy bueno
2. Bueno
3. Regular
4. Malo
5. Muy malo
90. NS/NC

CAMBIANDO DE TEMA, HABLAREMOS DE ALGUNOS PROBLEMAS DE VIOLENCIA Y QUÉ HACE USTED PARA SOLUCIONARLOS

(AJ0). Durante los últimos 12 meses usted o su familia han sido víctimas de robos o agresiones?

1. Sí
2. No (pase a preg. AJ01)
90. NS/NC

(AJ01) Si ha sido víctima, a qué institución denunció este robo o agresión

1. Policía
2. Serenazgo
3. Ronda, comité de autodefensa
- Otro (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_
4. No avisó
90. NS/NC

(AJ03). De los trámites que usted o alguien de su familia ha hecho en la policía (serenazgo, ronda), cómo se siente con los resultados obtenidos?

1. Muy satisfecho
2. Algo Satisfecho
3. Insatisfecho
4. Muy Insatisfecho
5. No hizo trámites
90. NS/NC
- 91 No ha hecho ningún trámite

(CR80C4) Cuando ha tenido o tiene que tratar algún asunto en los juzgados, por lo general ¿cómo lo atienden a usted los jueces y los empleados? ¿muy bien..., bien..., mal... o muy mal?

1. Muy bien
2. Bien
3. Regular
4. Mal
5. Muy mal
90. NS/NC
91. Nunca ha ido

(AJ3) ¿Si usted tuviera problemas que resolver como robos y agresión, ¿cuál cree que es la mejor alternativa para solucionarlos? (LEER LAS ALTERNATIVAS)

1. Resolverlos con nuestras propias manos
2. Revolverlos a través de las organizaciones comunales
3. Resolverlos a través de los juzgados
- Otro (especifique sólo una) \_\_\_\_\_

90. NS/NC

(AJ4A) Si ha oído hablar de la conciliación extrajudicial, según usted, se refiere a:

1. Resolver problemas penales como robos, agresión, asesinatos, etc. fuera del juzgado
2. Resolver problemas civiles como juicio de alimentos, problemas de tierras, etc fuera del juzgado
3. Resolver cualquier problema -civil o penal- fuera del juzgado
4. Nunca he oído hablar de la conciliación extrajudicial (pase a la preg. DC1)

90. NS/NC (pase a la preg. DC1)

(AJ4B) ¿Haría uso de la conciliación extrajudicial?

1. Sí
2. No

90. NS/NC

Hablando de nuestros derechos como ciudadanos, a continuación le voy a leer varias frases y me gustaría saber dos cosas: PRIMERO, SI CREE QUE EL DERECHO QUE YO LE MENCIONO ESTÁ EN NUESTRA CONSTITUCIÓN y, SEGUNDO, SI CREE QUE ESTE DERECHO SE CUMPLE EN EL PERÚ: (HACER LAS DOS PREGUNTAS PARA CADA FRASE)

DERECHOS	¿Está en la Constitución?				¿Se cumple en el Perú?			
		Sí	No	NS		Sí	No	NS
(DC1) El derecho de expresar públicamente sus ideas	DC1a	1	2	90	DC1b	1	2	90
(DC4) El derecho a que si ha sido detenido, la autoridad señale sin demora el lugar donde está detenido	DC4a	1	2	90	DC4b	1	2	90
(DC5) El derecho a que cualquier entidad pública le de la información que usted solicite (salvo informaciones que afecten la seguridad nacional)	DC5a	1	2	90	DC5b	1	2	90
(DC6) El derecho a pedir el cambio de una autoridad si es que no cumple con sus funciones	DC6a	1	2	90	DC6b	1	2	90
(DC7) El derecho a que las autoridades informen de las acciones y gastos que hagan, a los ciudadanos que las eligieron	DC7a	1	2	90	DC7b	1	2	90
(DC15) El derecho a que el Estado provea de trabajo a las personas que lo necesitan	Dc15a	1	2	90	Dc15b	1	2	90



(TR2) Cuando ha ido a algún lugar público ¿alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado?

1. Sí, por mi raza
2. Sí, por mi forma de hablar
3. Sí, por mi forma de vestir
4. No

90. NS/NC

(DC9) Si a usted lo apresaran por cualquier motivo que no sea problemas de narcotráfico, espionaje o terrorismo, sabe cuánto tiempo lo pueden detener sin una orden judicial?

1. No más de 24 horas
2. Cualquier otra respuesta

90. NS/NC

(DC10) ¿Si un servidor público (policía, funcionario público, etc.) lo maltrata ¿sabe dónde podría ir a quejarse? (NO LEA LAS OPCIONES, SI EL ENTREVISTADO SÓLO DICE SÍ, INSISTA Y PREGUNTE DÓNDE)

1. Comisaría
2. Fiscalía o Juzgado de Paz
3. Defensoría del Pueblo
4. Organización de DD.HH
5. Abogado particular
6. Municipio
7. Ronda
8. A su superior en la misma entidad pública
9. No sabría donde quejarme
- Otro (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_

90. NS/NC

(DC10A) ¿Iría usted a quejarse? (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. Sí
2. No, porque no tengo tiempo para hacerlo
3. No, me quejaría porque no me harían caso

90. NS/NC

(DC11) Puede decirme ¿en qué tipo de maltrato estuvo pensando usted cuando le hice la pregunta? (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. En un maltrato físico (si estuvo pensando en golpes, tortura, etc.)
2. En una mala atención (si estuvo pensando en gritos, demora en los trámites, etc.)
3. Pensó en ambos tipos de maltrato

90. NS/NC

(P47) En los últimos cinco años usted ha recibido algún tipo de capacitación o curso sobre sus derechos? (TARJETA F)

1. Sí en el colegio
2. Sí por un Instituto Superior/Universidad
3. Sí por la iglesia
4. Sí por la Municipalidad
5. Sí por una ong

6. Sí por una institución del Estado
7. Sí por el trabajo
8. Sí por Organizaciones o Promotores Comunales
9. No ha recibido cursos pero sí folletos/materiales o alguna comunicación
- Otro
90. NS/NC
91. No ha recibido ninguna capacitación

(RC1) Cree usted que participar en los asuntos del gobierno municipal es un deber de los ciudadanos, es un derecho o es algo que debiéramos hacer sólo si nos interesa. (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. Es un deber
2. Sólo si nos interesa
3. Es un deber y un derecho
90. NS/NC

(RC2a) si las elecciones no fueran obligatorias, iría usted a votar

1. Si
2. No
90. NS/NC

(RC5) Si tuviera la posibilidad de hacer un trámite más rápido dándole dinero ("coima") a un funcionario público ¿lo haría? (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. Sólo si me viera en la necesidad de hacerlo
2. De ninguna manera
90. NS/NC

(RC3) Hablando de los actos de corrupción (por ejemplo que un servidor público pida dinero/"coimas", le voy a leer tres frases y quisiera que me dijera con cuál de ellas se identifica más: (LEER LAS OPCIONES)

1. Denunciaría el hecho porque es mi responsabilidad
2. Lo denunciaría sólo si me afectara de alguna manera
3. No lo denunciaría porque no me harían caso
4. No lo denunciaría porque no me importa
90. NS/NC

Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera de 10 gradas, que van de 1 a 10. (MOSTRAR TARJETA G) Si usted escoge el número 1 significa que desaprueba mucho la afirmación (frase) que le leo, si usted escoge el número 10 significa que la aprueba mucho.

A continuación le voy a leer una lista de algunas acciones o cosas que las personas pueden hacer. Quisiera que me dijera hasta qué punto aprobaría o desaprobaría que las personas participen en las acciones que le voy a leer a continuación



	Desa- prueba Mucho									Aprue- ba Mucho	NS
(E15) Que las personas participen en un cierre o bloqueo de calles o caminos para conseguir un objetivo político	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	90
(E14) Que las personas invadan propiedades privadas (casas o terrenos desocupados) para conseguir un objetivo político	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	90

### QUISIÉRAMOS CONOCER SU OPINIÓN SOBRE UNOS ASUNTOS DE ACTUALIDAD

(A5) ¿Cómo se ubica usted frente a la política? (TARJETA H)

1. Me interesa y soy simpatizante de un partido político
2. Me interesa pero soy independiente
3. No me interesa la política
4. La política me desagrada y detesto a los políticos
90. NS/NC

(DEMO2) Ahora le voy a leer cuatro significados de democracia y quisiera que me diga cuál de ellas le parece la más importante. "Para usted la democracia es..." (TARJETA I)

1. El respeto a los derechos de la persona (libertad de pensamiento, de expresión, etc.)
2. El respeto a las leyes y a la Constitución
3. El gobierno de la mayoría
4. La igualdad y la justicia social
5. Otro (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_
8. NS/NC

(DEMO3) ¿Cree usted que la democracia en el Perú funciona ...?

1. Muy bien
2. Bien
3. Regular
4. Mal
5. Muy mal
90. NS/NC

(DEMO4) Si usted tuviera que escoger de la siguiente lista, cual cree que es el requisito principal para que la democracia en el Perú funcione bien?

1. Líderes honestos y eficaces
2. Una mayor participación de la población
3. El respeto a las leyes y a la Constitución
4. El respeto a los derechos humanos
5. Que los gobernantes rindan cuenta de sus actos
6. Otro (especificar) \_\_\_\_\_
90. NS/NC

(P46) Hasta que punto esta usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con la siguiente frase:  
"Los políticos (el gobierno, el congreso y otros) deciden lo que quieren y no puedo hacer nada para impedirlo"

1. Muy de acuerdo
2. De acuerdo
3. Indeciso
4. Desacuerdo
5. Muy en desacuerdo
90. NS/NC

ALGUNAS PERSONAS DICEN QUE BAJO CIERTAS CIRCUNSTANCIAS SE PUEDE JUSTIFICAR UN GOLPE MILITAR Y OTROS DICEN QUE NO SE JUSTIFICA EN NINGÚN CASO.

(JC10) ¿Usted cree que se justificaría o no se justificaría un golpe militar para resolver mejor los problemas económicos del país?

1. Si justificaría
2. No justificaría
90. NS/NC

(JC11) ¿Usted cree que se justificaría o que no se justificaría un golpe militar para resolver mejor los problemas de violencia del país?

1. Si justificaría
2. No justificaría
90. NS/NC

(JC12) Aparte de las situaciones que le acabo de mencionar ¿usted cree que existen otras situaciones que justifiquen un golpe militar o no cree que exista ninguna razón para justificar un gobierno militar?

1. Si justificaría
2. No se justificaría en ningún caso
90. NS/NC

(JC20) Estaría Usted de acuerdo con que el presidente asuma poderes dictatoriales para resolver los problemas económicos del país?

1. Sí
2. No
90. NS/NC

(JC21) Estaría Usted de acuerdo con que el presidente asuma poderes dictatoriales para resolver mejor los problemas de violencia del país

1. Sí
2. No
90. NS/NC

(JC22) Aparte de las situaciones que le acabo de mencionar ¿usted cree que existen otras situaciones que justifiquen que el presidente asuma poderes dictatoriales, o no cree que exista ninguna razón para justificar esos poderes dictatoriales?

1. Si se puede justificar (pase a preg. JC22a)



2. No se justificaría en ningún caso (pase a preg. A7)

90. NS/NC

(A7) ¿Con cuál de las siguientes frases está más de acuerdo?

1. La democracia es preferible a cualquier otra forma de gobierno

2. A la gente como uno, nos da lo mismo un régimen democrático que uno no democrático

3. En algunos casos, un gobierno autoritario puede ser preferible a un gobierno democrático

90. NS/NC

(IDEO1) En política se habla normalmente de "izquierda" y "derecha". En una escala donde 1 es "extrema izquierda" y 10 "extrema derecha", ¿dónde se colocaría usted?

(MOSTRAR TARJETA J)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 90 NS/NC

(ELEC1) Cambiando de tema, quisiera saber si votó en las últimas elecciones municipales

1. Sí

2. No (pase a la pregunta ELEC2)

90. NS/NC

(ELEC2) ¿Podría decirme por qué no votó?

1. No tenía edad

2. Perdió la libreta electoral/DNI o estaba en trámite

3. Falta de dinero o transporte para viajar al lugar de votación

4. Tenía que trabajar

5. Enfermedad

6. No cree en las elecciones

7. Otro

90. NS/NC

91. No aplica(si voto)

(ELEC3). En general, ¿cree usted que las elecciones en nuestro país son limpias o hay fraude?

1. Son limpias

2. Hay fraude

90. NS/NC

Quisiera que me dijera si recuerda:

	R. Correcta	R. Incorrecta	NS
(GI1) ¿Quién es el presidente de Estados Unidos? (CLINTON)	1	2	90
(GI2) ¿Quién es el presidente de Argentina? (MENEM)	1	2	90
(GI3) ¿Cuál es el número de congresistas en el Perú? (120)	1	2	90
(GI4) ¿Quién es el presidente de Ecuador? (JAMIL MAHUAD)	1	2	90

¿Cómo calificaría Usted su situación económica	(SITECO1)	(SITECO2)
--	-----------	-----------

familiar en relación a hace un año? ¿Y del país?	Familiar	Del país
Mejor	1	1
Igual	2	2
Peor	3	3
NS/NC	90	90

¿Cómo cree que estará su situación económica familiar dentro de un año: mejor, igual o peor? ¿Y la del país?	(SITECO3) Familiar	(SITECO4) Del país
Mejor	1	1
Igual	2	2
Peor	3	3
NS/NC	90	90

(P59) Según usted, ¿de qué depende la solución de los problemas del país? (TARJETA J)

1. De la mejora de la educación y de la cultura
2. De la mejora y construcción de carreteras y medios de comunicación
3. De una efectiva descentralización
4. De una política de promoción de las inversiones
5. De un cambio de los dirigentes y líderes políticos
6. De la mejora de la democracia
7. Otro (especifique, sólo uno) \_\_\_\_\_
90. NS/NC



## DATOS DE CONTROL

(NC) NÚMERO DEL CUESTIONARIO (asignado en la oficina) \_\_\_\_\_

(REG) Región (asignado en la oficina)

1. Costa Norte
2. Lima
3. Costa Sur
4. Sierra Norte
5. Sierra Centro y Trapecio Andino
6. Sierra Sur
7. Selva

(REG1) Macrorregión (asignado en la oficina)

1. Lima
2. Costa urbana
3. Costa rural
4. Sierra urbana
5. Sierra rural
6. Selva urbana
7. Selva rural

DPTO (departamento) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado por el  
encuestador)

PROV (provincia) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado por el encuestador)

DIST (distrito) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado por el encuestador)

LOCAL (c.p.m.) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado por el encuestador)

POBDPTO (población del departamento) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado en la oficina)

POBPROV (población de la provincia) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado en la oficina)

POBDIST (población del distrito) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado en la  
oficina)

POBLOC (población del C.P.M) \_\_\_\_\_ (asignado en la oficina)

ZONA (asignado en la oficina)

1. Urbana
2. Rural

(SEXO)

1. Hombre
2. Mujer

(EDAD) ¿Cuántos años tiene (cumplidos)? (ANOTAR EL NÚMERO EXACTO, Y 9090 EN  
CASO DE QUE NO RESPONDA) \_\_\_\_\_

(EDU2) ¿Cuál fue el último año de educación que usted aprobó?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Primaria	0	1	2	3	4	5	6			
Secundaria		7	8	9	10	11				
Superior		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

(LENGa) ¿Qué idioma ha hablado en su casa desde pequeño?

1. Castellano
2. Quechua
3. Aymara
4. Castellano y Quechua
5. Castellano y Aymara
6. Otro (nativo)
7. Otro (extranjero)
8. NS/NC

(LENGb) ¿Además del castellano, habla usted otro idioma con su familia?

1. Sí
2. No (pase a la pregunta Q3/Religión)
90. NS/NC

(LENGc) ¿Cuál otro idioma?

1. Castellano
2. Quechua
3. Aymara
4. Otro (nativo)
5. Otro (extranjero)
8. NS/NC
9. No aplica, sólo habla castellano

(TR1) Si usted tuviera que ubicarse en algunas de estas razas ¿a cuál de las siguientes diría que pertenece? (MOSTRAR TARJETA K)

1. Mestiza
2. Blanca
3. Indígena
4. Negra
5. Oriental
90. NS/NC

(Q3) ¿Cuál es su religión?

1. Católica.
2. Evangélica
3. Ninguna
4. Otra
8. NS/NC

(Q11) ¿Cuál es su estado civil?



1. Soltero/a
2. Casado/a
3. Conviviente
4. Divorciado
5. Separado/a
6. Viudo/a
90. NS/NC

(Q12) ¿Cuántos hijos tiene...? (ANOTAR EL NÚMERO EXACTO, 00 SI NO TIENE HIJOS Y 9090 EN CASO DE QUE NO RESPONDA) \_\_\_\_\_

Como le dije, estas preguntas se hacen solamente para ayudarnos a dividir las entrevistas en grupos. Le voy a agradecer que me diga si tiene los siguientes artefactos:

	SI	NO	NS
(R1) TV	1	2	90
(R3) Refrigeradora	1	2	90
(R4) Teléfono	1	2	90
(R5) Automóvil ( de los últimos 5 años)	1	2	90
(R6) Lavadora	1	2	90

(AGUA) ¿Cómo se abastece de agua?

1. Dentro de la casa (Red pública con conexión domiciliaria)
2. Fuera de la vivienda pero de uso común para un grupo de viviendas (Red pública sin conexión domiciliaria)
3. Pozo
4. Camión tanque, aguatero, cisterna
5. Agua de río o acequia
7. Otro

(LUZ) ¿Qué tipo de alumbrado tiene este hogar?

1. Electricidad, luz dentro de la vivienda
2. Electricidad, sólo alumbrado público
3. Kerosene, petróleo o gas
4. Vela
7. Otro

(NB1) Número de baños dentro de la vivienda \_\_\_\_\_

(NB2) (En zona rural o periurbana) ¿Tiene letrina?

1. Sí
2. No

## TARJETAS

### TARJETA A (preg. A4A)

¿Cuál es el problema principal del lugar donde vive?

1. Falta de servicios básicos -luz, agua-
2. Falta de pistas / carreteras
3. Alimentación
4. Falta de títulos de propiedad, litigio por tierras
5. Problemas para la producción -p.e. riego-
6. Delincuencia
7. Limpieza

### TARJETA B (preg. P5)

¿A través de qué organización o institución cree que podría resolverse mejor ese problema?

1. Pidiendo el apoyo de alguna institución (iglesia, ONG, otra)
2. Buscando el apoyo de algún grupo o representante político
3. Pidiendo (exigiendo) el apoyo del municipio
4. A través de las organizaciones vecinales que hay en mi barrio/comunidad
5. Poniéndome de acuerdo con mis vecinos
6. Por lo que pueda hacer por mí mismo o junto con mi familia

### TARJETA C (preg. P6)

Si en su localidad ocurre un problema muy grave, una injusticia que afecta a toda la comunidad ¿qué institución u organización sería más efectiva para ayudar a solucionarlo?

1. Las organizaciones de la comunidad
2. ONGs, organizaciones de derechos humanos
3. Medios de comunicación
4. Iglesia
5. Autoridades locales (juez de paz, tnte. gobernador, ronda)
6. Municipio Distrital
7. Fiscalía
8. Policía
9. Algún grupo o líder político

### TARJETA D (preg. P12A)

¿Por qué no participa más?

1. Por falta de tiempo
2. Porque en mi barrio/comunidad no hay organizaciones que vean los temas que me interesan
3. Porque a veces no entiendo lo que discuten
4. Porque no me gusta cómo funcionan las organizaciones de mi barrio/comunidad
5. Porque no me han dado la oportunidad
6. Porque no me gusta hablar en público
7. Porque no creo tener la educación necesaria

### TARJETA E (pregs.: B4A a B6, B13 a B31)

Escalera de siete gradas



TARJETA F (preg. P47)

¿En los últimos cinco años usted ha recibido algún tipo de capacitación o curso sobre sus derechos?

1. Sí en el colegio
2. Sí por un Instituto Superior/Universidad
3. Sí por la iglesia
4. Sí por la Municipalidad
5. Sí por una ong (cuál) -----
6. Sí por una institución del Estado (cuál) -----
7. Sí por el trabajo
8. Sí por Organizaciones o Promotores Comunales

TARJETA G (preg. E5 a E14)

Escalera de diez gradas

TARJETA H (preg. A5)

¿Cómo se ubica frente a la política?

1. Me interesa y soy simpatizante de un partido político
2. Me interesa pero soy independiente
3. No me interesa la política
4. La política me desagrada y detesto a los políticos

TARJETA I (preg. DEMO2)

"Para usted la democracia es..."

1. El respeto a los derechos de la persona (libertad de pensamiento, de expresión, etc.)
2. El respeto a las leyes y a la Constitución
3. El gobierno de la mayoría
4. La igualdad y la justicia social

TARJETA J (preg. IDEO1)

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10      99 NS/NR

TARJETA K (preg. P59)

Según usted, ¿de qué depende la solución de los problemas del país?

1. De la mejora de la educación y de la cultura
2. De la mejora y construcción de carreteras y medios de comunicación que permitan la integración
3. De una efectiva descentralización
4. De una política de promoción de las inversiones
5. De un cambio de los dirigentes y líderes políticos
6. De la mejora de la democracia
7. Otro (especifique, sólo uno) \_\_\_\_\_

TARJETA L (preg. TR1)

Raza

1. Mestiza
2. Blanca
3. Indígena
4. Negra
5. Oriental